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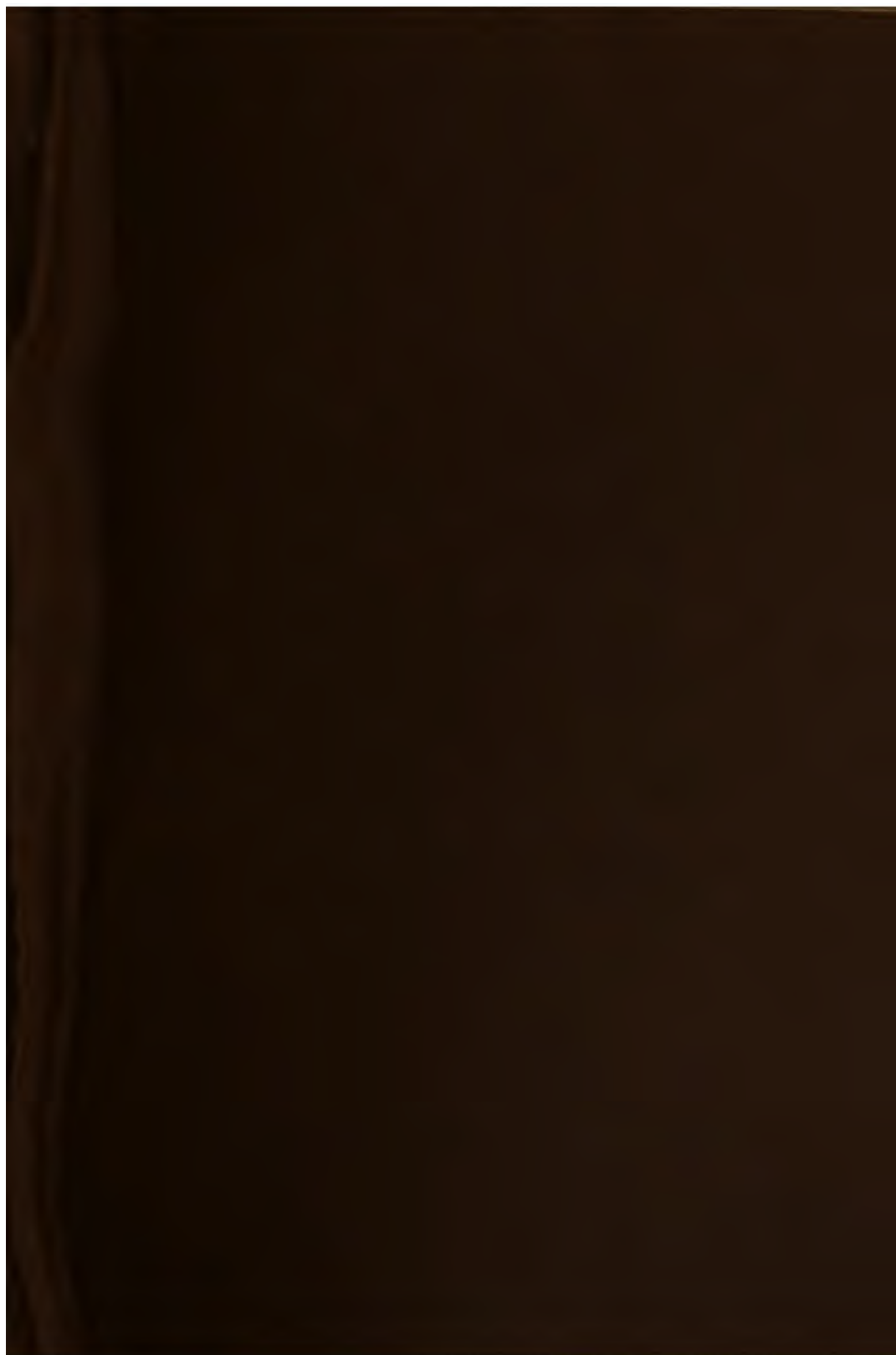
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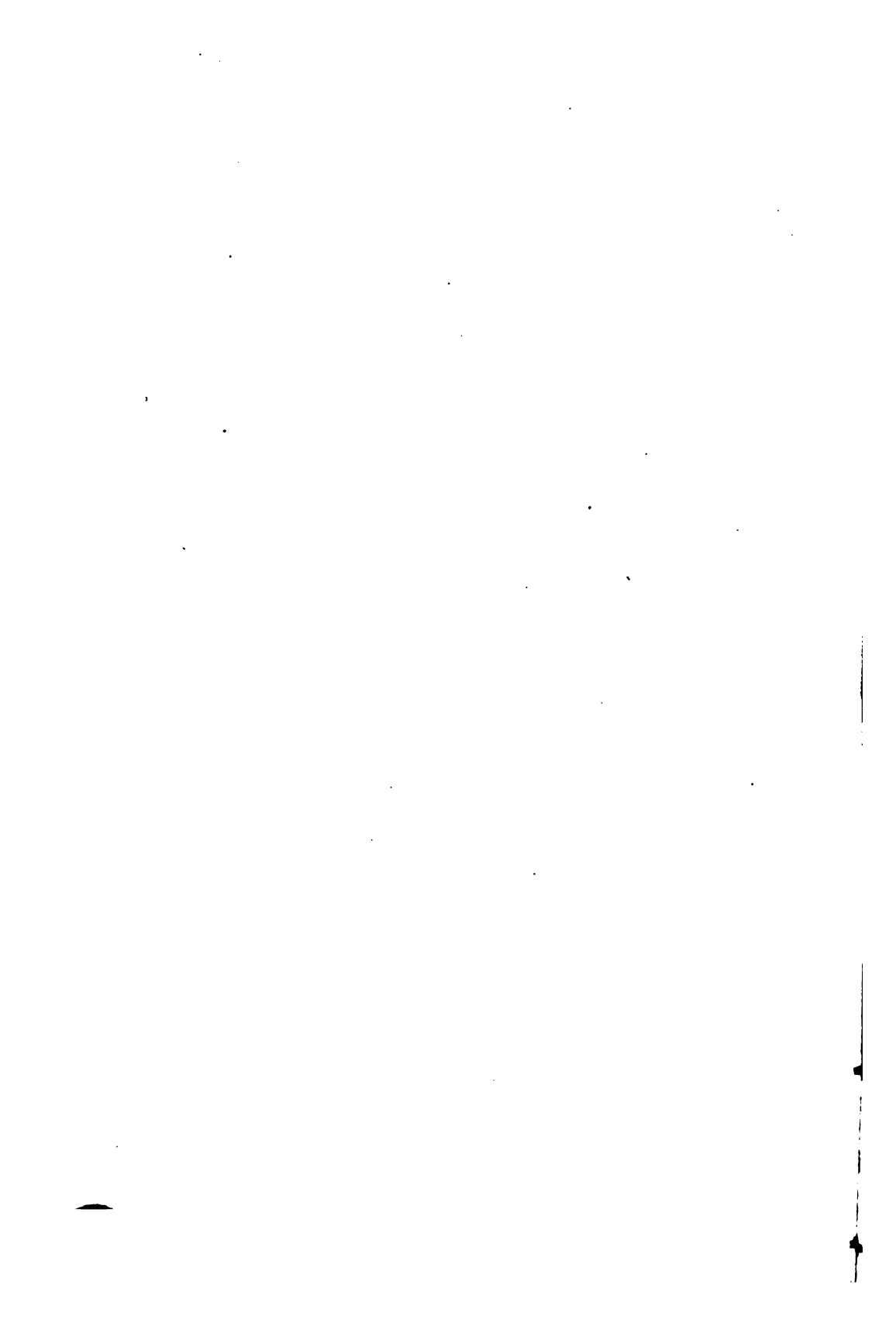
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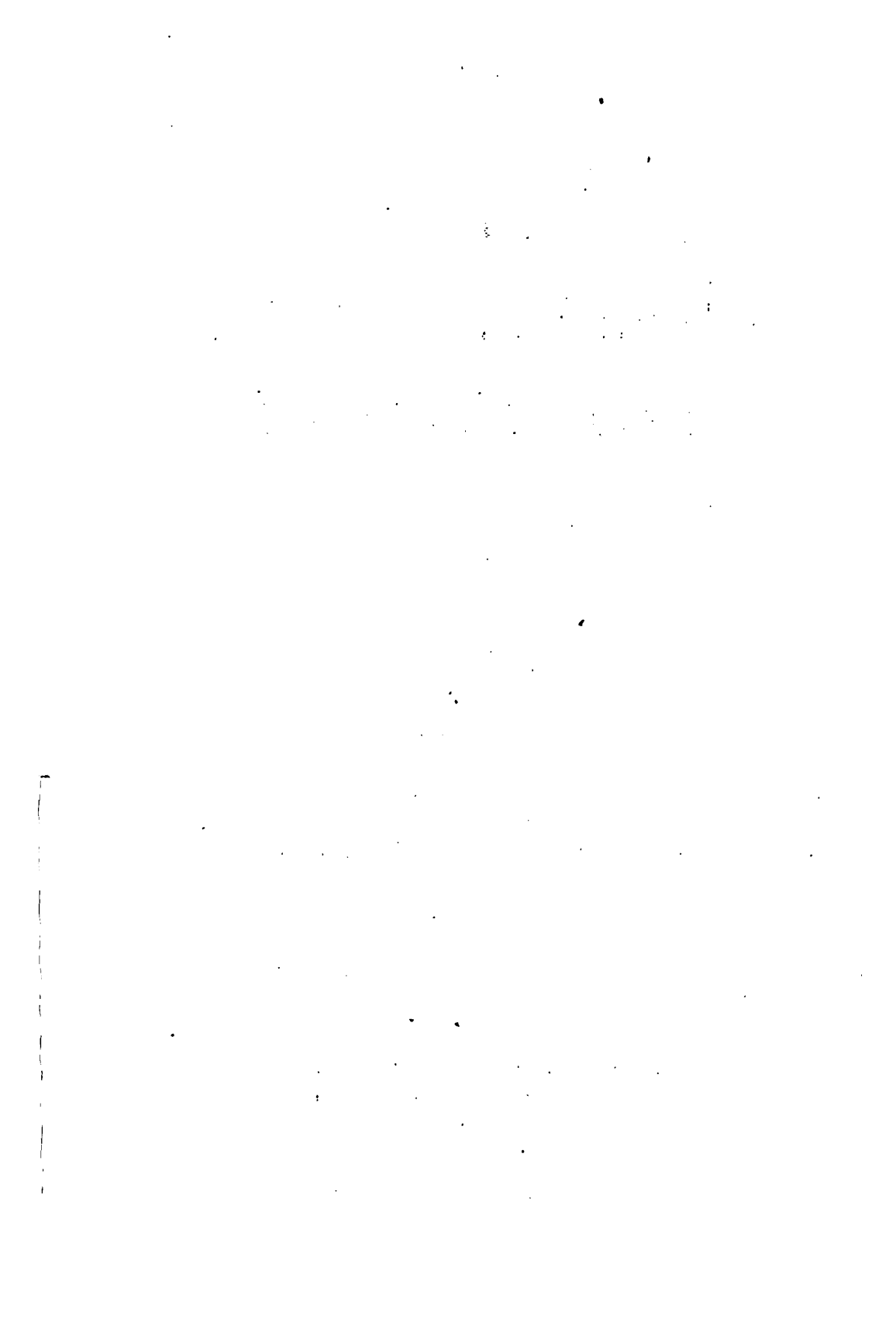


THE REFORMER.





THE REFORMER.



THE

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Lutherans in America.

A Story of Struggle, Progress, Influence

AND

Marvelous Growth.

BY

EDMUND JACOB WOLF, D. D.

With an Introduction

BY

HENRY EYSTER JACOBS, D. D.

Hier stehe ich, ich kann nicht anders.

NEW YORK : J. A. HILL & COMPANY, 44 EAST 14TH STREET.

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1890.

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PREFACE.

In the preparation of this volume, grateful acknowledgements are due to my colleagues, Rev. M. Valentine, D. D., LL. D., and Rev. C. A. Hay, D. D., for valuable assistance ; to Rev. Prof. A. Graebner for the material of the history of the Missourians ; to Rev. Prof. G. H. Schodde, Ph. D., for that of the Synod of Ohio ; to Rev. Prof. G. J. Fritschel for that of the Synod of Iowa ; to Rev. Prof. W. K. Frick for that of the Swedes ; to Rev. Prof. K. O. Lomen for that of the Norwegians ; to Rev. R. Andersen for that of the Danes ; to Rev. G. F. Krotel, D. D., LL. D., and Rev. Prof. C. W. Schaeffer, D. D., LL. D., for contributions relative to the history of the Pennsylvania Synod and that of the General Council ; to Rev. T. W. Dosh, D. D., for the matter of the United Synod, to Rev. J. Nicum for statistical matter ; to Revs. Prof. L. A. Fox, D. D., and Rev. J. Paul Stirewalt for material on the Tennessee Synod, and to Rev. D. M. Kemerer for similar favors concerning the Pittsburg Synod, G. C.

The arduous labor of collecting and digesting the material has been inspired and sustained by the supreme desire to afford to the Lutheran people, as well as the general Christian public, a better acquaintance with their glorious Church, under the firm conviction that to know her is to love her, and that those knowing and loving her true character will consecrate themselves to the maintenance of her purity in faith and life, and the enlargement of her efficiency in extending the word and kingdom of Jesus.

To the indulgence of the readers and the grace of the Holy Spirit the imperfect results are humbly commended.

E. J. W.

Festival of the Reformation, 1889.

INTRODUCTION

THERE are three forms of historical composition, the documentary, the philosophical and the popular. The documentary and the philosophical, the former furnishing the evidence for the facts stated, and the latter dealing with the principles which underlie the facts, are intended for scholars, who come to the study of the subject with some degree of preliminary knowledge of what is treated. The critical student is never satisfied until he can trace the statement of a fact to its ultimate source, and judge it in the same light as the historian himself. But there is no less room for the popular presentation of history. This is necessarily dependent upon what has been previously accomplished in the other departments. The main facts which have been gathered as the result of minute and extensive research, are woven together into a continuous narrative, which does not aim at being exhaustive, but simply at giving what, in the opinion of the historian, is most important and interesting to the general reader. He takes the reader with him to a mountain side, and points out the path through which the ascent has been made; but does not enter into the details as would the surveyor who had been commissioned to revise lines, and establish the validity of conflicting claims.

With the growth of the Lutheran Church in this country, there has been a most commendable cultivation of the department of documentary history by a few learned and persevering scholars. Chief among these are the editors of that work of stupendous industry, the revised edition of the *Hallesche Nachrichten*, Drs. W. J. Mann, B. M. Schmucker and W. Germann. Dr. Mann has also laid the Church under everlasting obligations by his "Life and Times of Muhlenberg." The earlier labors, within this sphere, of Dr. W. M. Reynolds and the recent ones of Rev. J. Nicum, are not to be forgotten. Unfortunately, the lack of historical culture on the part of even our more scholarly ministers is manifest by the rarity with which the *Hallesche Nachrichten* appears on the shelves of their libraries, and especially by the fact that the publication of that important collection of documents with the illustrative historical notes brought down to the present day, has ceased with its first volume. Such work, however, is not lost. With every advance in the cultivation of documentary history, an advance in its more popular presentation is required. The more monographs written within the scope of a science, the greater the demand for handbooks outlining the subject. If we compare the readable, and, at its time, very useful sketch of the life of Muhlenberg published in 1856, by Dr. M. L. Stoeber, with that above referred to, some idea can be formed of the advance, during this interval, made among us in historical studies. While, therefore, in the past, the popular presentation has not been neglected, and Drs. E. L. Hazelius, S. S. Schmucker, and C. W. Schaeffer, at

different times have furnished sketches, it has been impossible for any member of our congregations to find the facts of the origin and development of the Lutheran Church in America, as known up to the present time, adequately given in any one book.

In this volume, Dr. Wolf has undertaken to chronicle the results so far as they have been made accessible. The popular historian, in some respects, performs a self-sacrificing work. He writes a book for the times; but which, like everything adapted to the times, can only indirectly serve a permanent end. It stimulates to the higher appreciation and the more extensive study of history. It leads students from the popular, to the cultivation of the documentary and philosophical spheres. It fulfils an important office in widening the horizon, and informing the various parts of the Church of their historical relations. It becomes a starting-point for earnest activity, both in practical work and in scholarly investigation.

Two difficulties especially confronted the author of this work. Historians speak of the necessity of an historical perspective. A photograph of a building cannot be taken unless the camera be placed at a considerable distance. Those who have made or who are closely related to those who make history, cannot well write it. They are the best witnesses concerning bare statements of facts, but not the best judges as to principles and results. They cannot see the trees, because of the leaves. A life of Muhlenberg, by Dr. Kunze, or Dr. Helmuth, would not have been as satisfactory as that of Dr. Mann, written one hundred years after Muhlenberg's death. We have scarcely reached

the point whence we can view the Lutheran Church in America of even the earlier period of this century with complete historical impartiality. This will be done in time. Everything will doubtless be subjected to critical, historical analysis. But, meanwhile, the story, so far as known, must be told; and the facts, so far as known, must be judged, in order to prepare the way for those who are to follow.

A second difficulty before him, has been that while the Lutherans of America are separated into several divisions, on the ground of principles upon which, thus far, they have been unable to agree, and the discussion of which has formed a great part of the history during the period treated, he has endeavored to present an outline of the external history with entire impartiality. It is too much to expect of any man, that even with the highest appreciation of those with whom he differs, he can be completely uninfluenced by his theological standpoint. The writer frankly confesses that he could not; and hence, would not demand of another, what he cannot plead for himself. We have read with much interest the entire book. We have admired the general objectivity and impartiality of the author's judgment. We have been stirred to enthusiasm by his eloquence, and only on a few points have we ventured suggestions. Within its own sphere and for its own purpose, the work is well conceived and well executed and worthy of high commendation.

The story which is rehearsed is one of the deepest interest. It abounds in incidents as inspiring and worthy of commemoration as the far more familiar history of communions hitherto more prominent in

this country. It is at the same time a story of much intricacy. So various are the sources from whence our Lutheran people come, and so constant has been the stream of immigration, placing layer after layer of successive movements upon one another, that much confusion would be unavoidable were the elements found here homogeneous in their European home. This, however, as is well-known, is not the case. The contrasts which exist in Europe, become all the more striking when placed in juxtaposition here. Conflicts which there could be avoided because of distance or national barriers, here must be faced, as each theory is put to the severest tests. The distribution which Guizot makes of the history of the civilization of Europe into three periods, viz.: one of origination, one of experimentation, and one of permanent and vigorous development, we believe will be found to be very applicable here. While this is true of the Church as a whole, it is also true of each particular element included in it. In one respect, the period of origination was over with the new era that entered with the landing of Muhlenberg. In another respect, we are still in the midst of it, and will remain so as long as the majority of our communicant membership are of foreign birth. The period of experimentation is marked by the several efforts that have been made to comprise all Lutheran Synods into a general organization. How far this has advanced, and how near or how far any of the general bodies is to this goal, may be learned from this volume. In spite, however, of the fact that the period of experimentation is still dominant, that of vigorous development has not been

delayed. The three periods overlap each other, and the one begins before the other ends.

There is yet another fact which a careful study of this volume shows. We cannot but be reminded of the parallel in the history of the chosen people of the old covenant. Once there was a time when the efforts of the prophets were directed to awaken Israel to a sense of its true importance. There was no national spirit left; all national self-consciousness had vanished. Not only the national habits, but even the religious rites of the neighboring nations became the standards according to which they endeavored to amend and adjust what God had given them. But there came another period when Israel awoke to a consciousness of its prerogative and asserted its rights. Soon we find national apathy succeeded by a self-consciousness that ran to the opposite extreme, as exhibited in the days when the new dispensation opened. The name, the customs, the institutions were cherished as a badge of their glorious past. All not able to establish its claim to unquestioned national purity was renounced. Nothing good could be acknowledged as coming from any other quarter. Both periods of the history of God's people may be found reproduced in that of the Lutheran Church in America. Both tendencies may also be found to coexist at the same time and place. As the elder Dr. Krauth said, there was a time when the dominant tendency was "to glory that we are like everybody, and consequently nothing in ourselves, living only by the breath of others," or as he might have added, living by mere sufferance, despised by others as those having little respect for themselves. Suddenly

as the cloud lifted, the great proportions of our Church, her vast heritage, her wonderful structure of theology, her rich treasures in every department of religious literature and her active work in so many spheres of beneficence, came to view. How easy now to glory that we are Lutherans, and to fail to appreciate that in other quarters which we formerly revered with excessive devotion!

The Lutheran Church has come to America, certainly not without some great purpose. When we review the past, we are astonished at its vitality. If Lutheranism were mortal, it would have died in this country long ago. We have lost our hundreds of thousands of members, and millions of wealth over and over again. The mismanagement attending important trusts, and culminating in repeated disasters, Dr. Wolf well traces. But in spite of all we do to ruin it, on it moves with ever increasing vigor. Where one is lost, ten are gained! The conflicts and mistakes make a noise and attract attention. The processes of steady growth are silent, extending into numberless recesses, and making themselves felt only when the whole field is viewed from year to year. We cannot believe that God is preserving such a communion, and constantly extending it, simply for itself alone. Its influence is destined to be felt far and wide beyond its own boundaries, as its members become more thoroughly identified with this country, as it ceases to become a Church of strangers, and, after reaching a more thorough harmony within itself, is able to take the position which belongs to it from its birthright, as the Mother Church of Protestantism. It has come to

America to stay, and to grow, and by renewing its youth in this new world, to assert itself with all the power of its earliest days. Wherever this book is read, it must stimulate most earnest thought as to what we are, whither we are tending, and what each one must do to fulfil his trust with respect to that noble cause which is committed to us. Our members certainly cannot discharge their responsibilities intelligently and discriminatingly without knowledge of the facts that are here gathered, and most lucidly and forcibly exhibited.

HENRY E. JACOBS.

EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,

MT. AIRY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.,

September 27th, 1889.

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The Lutherans in America.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH.

PERHAPS the boldest utterance ever heard upon this earth was the announcement of Jesus that he would found an imperishable institution. "Upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." The universal destroyer shall fail to overcome the Church. Everything else under the face of the sun may perish. Thrones and dynasties, nations and kingdoms, systems and creeds, may become extinct. Heaven and earth under this mighty law shall pass away, but the Church of Christ shall never die. Built upon the eternal rock of truth, she is indestructible.

The sublimity, the astounding significance of that announcement, must ever challenge the attention of thoughtful minds. Casting defiance at the scepter of death, holding in contempt the teachings of universal history, a Hebrew sage, in an obscure corner of the world, and attended by a few humble peasants, solemnly avows his purpose to rear a fabric that will stand forever! The lessons of some thousands of years had pretty well demonstrated the transitory

and perishable character of the noblest results of human endeavor. Nations had succeeded nations and made the record of their achievements and their glory, only to disappear again and forever. Colossal empires, splendid civilizations, hoary religions, profound philosophies, vast monuments of art and the loftiest creations of architectural genius, had fallen into decay and crumbled into dust. Of all the mighty past, nothing remained but a few fragmentary records, a few sporadic tenets of philosophy, of religion and of civil government, a few scattered columns on the plains of Mesopotamia, and several huge piles of masonry on the frontier of the Egyptian desert. The earth was one vast graveyard, in which was buried all that a hundred generations had either thought or wrought, with but here and there a broken shaft surviving to mark the spots which entomb the exploits and products of human history. And standing thus amid the shadows and ghosts of this universal sepulchre, Christ declares his purpose of establishing a Church that shall defy the law of decay and death.

And here, after nearly two thousand years, the Church is to-day, with its faith uncorrupted, its vitality unimpaired, its prayers still rising to God, its songs never ending, its benedictions and benefactions ever widening, and its resolve to subdue the earth becoming more and more apparent. Its pulsations still give life to dying men, and multitudes all over the earth are fleeing to its shelter and clinging to its altars, as if they beheld in it the one unfailing refuge for mankind, an impregnable fortress scorning the shocks and

storms of time, a rock in the midst of the sea unmoved by tempest or billow.

The indestructibility of the Christian Church does not, however, make her proof against all phases or

stages of corruption. The stream of living water in its course from a virgin spring through many lands into the ocean, continually absorbs some of the unclean and filthy deposits of the shores it washes and fructifies. Sometimes even very noxious and poisonous ingredients are taken up into the limpid waves.



CHURCH OF THE HOLY COMMUNION, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

While purifying and refreshing the earth the noble river contracts in turn some of its corruptions.

The vanquished nation may react upon the victors. Roman arms subdued the Greeks, but such was the power of Greek civilization that Rome in turn became

Hellenized. The Greeks became the educators of the Romans, and their manners, culture, art and science pervaded the great Empire.

"When conquered Greece brought in her captive arts,
She triumphed o'er her savage conquerors' hearts."

So powerful was this reaction, that while the Greek States became Roman in name, the Roman Empire itself in the East became Greek.

Christianity entered upon its career with the purpose first to reduce to its faith the Jewish nation; then began its conquest of the Græco-Roman world. Afterward came its mission to the barbarians of the West. The task which the Church thus set for herself, the complete moral revolution of society, involved the application of superhuman wisdom and divine power. Still the work had to be committed to human instrumentalities, with all their limitations, their infirmities, their impurities and their susceptibilities, and nothing short of a perpetual miracle could have prevented the Church from being, in some measure, contaminated by her contact for a thousand years with these hoary and corrupt systems which she proposed to supplant. The principles of these systems had entwined themselves with every institution of society. They had become inwoven with the whole texture of domestic and public life, and in the conflict which now arose between the new and the old, sometimes a drawn battle ensued, and sometimes the old order made large inroads upon the ranks of the new.

There was prodigious vitality in the institutions both of Judaism and of Heathenism, and though there

was not that aggressiveness which intrinsically characterizes the Christian spirit, yet, when it is remembered that heathen tenets and customs, in particular, coincided with the natural tendencies and instincts of a depraved humanity, and that the elements which composed the Church were as yet but partially freed from these same tendencies and instincts, it may readily be understood, how, in the progress of the contest, baleful influences would retroactively penetrate her bosom. Insensibly something of the spirit, the beliefs and the customs of the opposing institutions would invade the Christian community.

Without ever compromising her attitude or her mission, the survival of depraved elements within the pale of the Church, and the character of her surroundings, would inevitably expose her to the taint of extraneous and injurious influences. In the course of her progress, while unfolding and dispensing her own treasures, she was liable to absorb, in a measure, the very errors, superstitions and moral impurities which she was charged to combat. When, at a later stage, she hoped to facilitate the transition from Paganism to Christianity by making concessions to heathen sentiments and customs, and accommodated herself to national peculiarities, the infection became inevitable. Her leaven that was introduced into Pagan society yielded insensibly, before its work was completed, to a counter-leaven. The power that was to conquer the world suffered itself to some extent to be conquered by the world. The energy of the contest became gradually somewhat relaxed. The leaders of the Church grew less vigilant, and ingredients of corrup-

tion, penetrated from time to time her bosom and vitiated her blood.

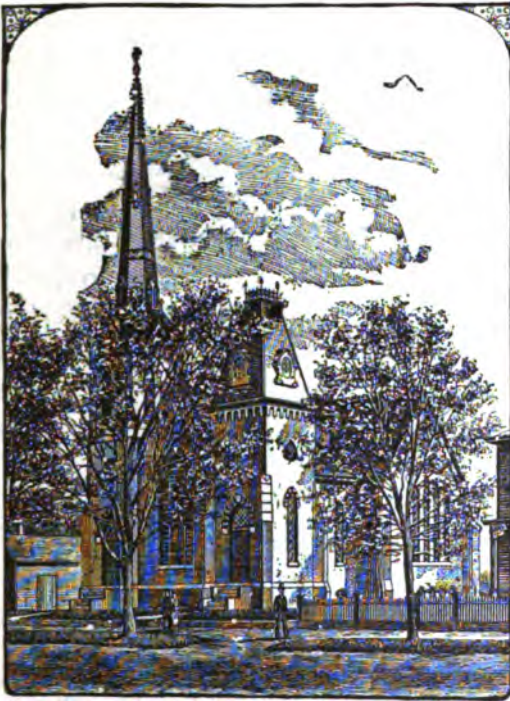
Her conquests were often so rapid and so vast that her capacity of assimilation was overtaxed. Like America, opening her arms to receive and civilize the world, the Church found herself the mistress of immense masses when she lacked adequate resources for their instruction and spiritual transformation. In this way "gross errors incorporated themselves in the conceptions of the Christian people and in the institutions of the Church."

We cannot, in this volume, take account of all the errors and abuses which, in the progress of centuries, had corrupted the Church before the Reformation. Our reference must be restricted to those which most deeply affected her vital functions, and those which wrought the greatest wrong and ruin to souls.

Christianity is a religion for the salvation of sinners. It answers the cry, "what must I do to be saved!" It reveals to men a Father's love and offers salvation gratuitously to lost and guilty men. "By grace ye are saved through faith, and this not of yourselves; it is the gift of God." "Of his mercy he saved us by the washing of water and the renewal of the Holy Ghost." "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son that whosoever believeth on him might not perish but have everlasting life." This was the good news proclaimed to sinners by inspired men who had learned the gospel from the lips of the founder of the Church. And this message brought peace to the sinner and effected the renovation of human nature. Alienated from the life of God and

fallen from his primordial state, man possesses within him no power of self-recovery. His own unaided efforts and strength avail nothing. Salvation is of the Lord. It is a divine gift. It is the outflow of infinite mercy.

All that devolves upon man is to grasp the offered grace, to lay



ST. MARK'S LUTHERAN CHURCH, CHARLOTTE, N. C.

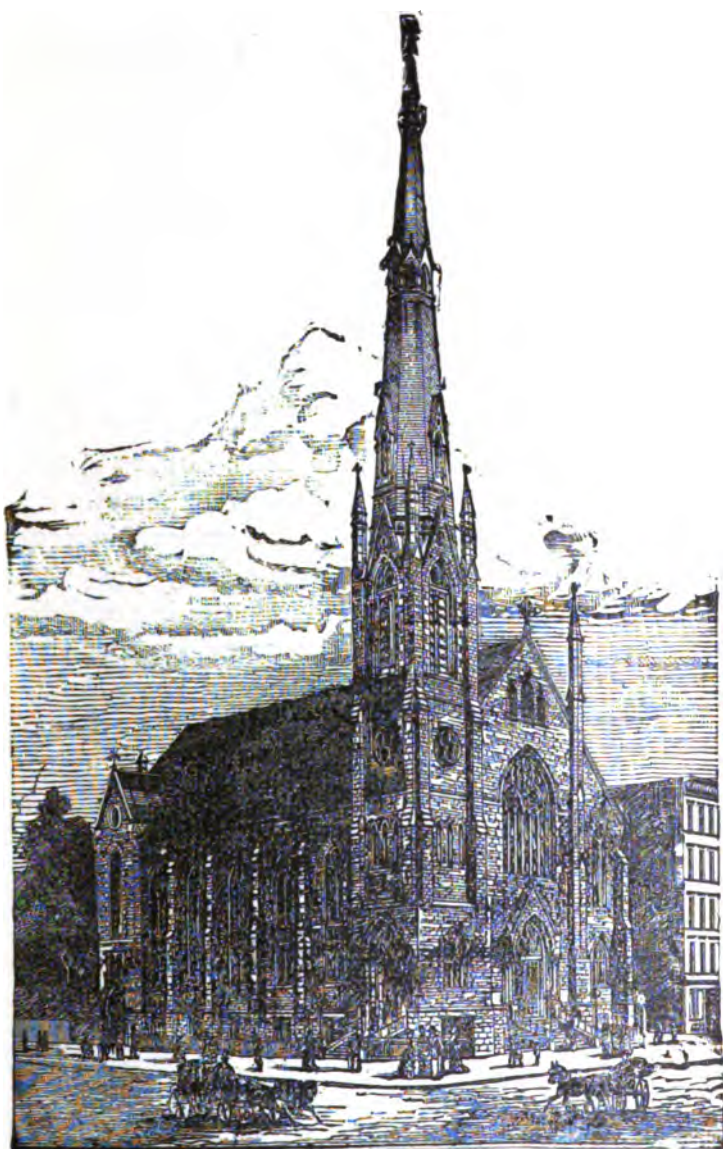
hold of this salvation, each for himself to make it his own by that confiding attitude, that trustful action, which is expressed in the simple exercise of faith in the offer and the promises. Such were the simple terms on which in the Apostolic Church, both Jews and Heathen, the noblest alike with the vilest of

men, obtained pardon and the grace of the Holy Ghost.

This is, in fact, the feature which distinguishes the Christian religion from all other religious systems.

So far as the latter aim at moral improvement it is through the action and works of men. They assume that there lies in man, despite his ruin through sin, the capacity for self-redemption, the ability to effect his own salvation. Paganism believes in man. He may save himself. Christianity believes in the Son of God. There is salvation in no other.

This vital truth, the very heart of the Gospel, came, in course of time, to be strangely obscured. It was practically set aside. The pagan idea of salvation through personal endeavor, through works of self-righteousness and penance, usurped again the place of salvation by grace. Instead of a free gift, pardon was sought as a reward. Men taught that it might be merited. By doing penance, by submitting to penalties imposed by the Church, by self-inflicted sufferings and privations, by tears and fasts and voluntary mortifications, the sinner could find the deliverance for which he sighed. Instead of being pointed to the boundless mercy of heaven, men were subjected to a system of cruel and rigorous exactions. They were required to go barefooted in the cold, to exchange their clothing for garments of torture, to undertake a distant journey, to separate from their loved ones and deprive themselves of the joys of life, to enter the cloister and submit to a rigorous suppression of natural affection. Regular penitential systems were devised and horrible hardships prescribed even for secret sins. The soul yearning for pardon must obtain by penance, by works, or even by the offer of money, that salvation which was purchased for the world by the Redeemer's blood. The essence of



EMANUEL'S LUTHERAN CHURCH (GERMAN), NEW YORK CITY.

heathenism, salvation by man, was substituted for the cross of Christ, and this fundamental error gave rise to monstrous conceptions and led to the deepest corruptions of saving truth.

The human mind is never so susceptible of delusions and so ready to be misled and seduced as when tormented by a sense of guilt and perplexed over the attainment of mercy. Like the unfortunate victim of a terrible disease it is ready to avail itself of every device and nostrum that promises to bring relief. Now, relief was never yet found by a process of penances, by a succession of "works," or by any other devices whereby impotent man is expected to compass his own deliverance. The more sincere and determined the effort the more clearly must the soul realize its failure, and experience the impossibility of doing or suffering enough for securing inward peace and moral renovation.

Not only the deluded people but their pastors and teachers came to realize this during the middle ages. They accordingly devised a system of exchange, by which in lieu of the heavy burdens which they found themselves unable to bear and which, even when borne, brought no salvation, the people might give a certain sum of money. A price was fixed upon the grace of God.

Unlike Peter, claimed as the first Pope, the rulers of the Church would sell God's gift for money. They denied the gratuitous character of forgiveness and began to barter and sell in the house of God, like those who were driven from the temple by the indignant Son of God. But unlike those indecent dealers

in animals and coin, the priests of the papacy became brokers in sin, they carried on a traffic with human guilt. They made merchandise of the Gospel. They sold pardon at a fixed sum. Holding this to be per-



FIRST ENGLISH LUTHERAN CHURCH, PITTSBURG, PA.

haps easier for the penitent, and certainly more profitable to a mercenary hierarchy, it was proposed, "For a seven week's fast, you shall pay twenty pence, if you are rich; ten if less wealthy; and three pence if you are poor, and so on for other matters." Incest, if not detected, was to cost five groats, if known six;

so there was a stated price for murder, infanticide, adultery, perjury and burglary.

The traffic, which was thus conducted, is known under the name of Indulgences. Originally and in the minds of the theologians this was meant as a system of commutation—the penitent paying a fine of money in lieu of some disciplinary suffering he was required to undergo. And the benefit to accrue from these Indulgences was not the divine mercy, but exemption from the penalties imposed by the Church as a just penitential reparation for sins committed. The real effect of these enforced penances was to make the grace of God of none effect, and when a pecuniary consideration took their place they led to incredible scandal and brought religion into disrepute. The idea which was *per se* a hideous caricature of the Gospel soon developed into an abominable traffic in the salvation of souls.

It is not known that the Church as such ever formally and officially declared that an Indulgence delivered from all sin, or was an actual pardon of guilt before God, but many of its agents affirmed this over and over, and it cannot be denied that multitudes so believed.

A Jesuit historian speaking of the monks who accompanied Tetzel, the famous vender of Indulgences, says: "Some of these preachers failed not, as usual, to go beyond the matter they were treating of, and so far to exaggerate the worth of Indulgences, that they gave the people cause to believe that they were assured of their salvation, and of the deliverance of souls from purgatory, so soon as they had given their

money." "Incredible as it may appear it is the dark, damnable fact of history that, in praising the immeasurable value of his wares, Tetzal declared to his audience that he had saved more souls by his Indulgences than the apostle had by his sermons, that no sin was so great that an Indulgence cannot remit it—that even the sins one intends to commit may be pardoned, only pay well and all will be forgiven."

And these payments were valid even in the spiritual world. If Indulgences availed here for those who by bitter torments were required to expiate their offenses, why indeed should they not avail for those who in purgatory are expiating sins for which they could not do penance here. A regular tariff of Indulgences was provided by which those burning in purgatory could have immediate exit from their pains, and those to whom life on earth had been turned to purgatorial fires might escape by paying the required ransom. "The very instant that the money rattles at the bottom of the chest, the soul escapes from purgatory and flies into heaven," said Tetzal. Although the people on receiving their Indulgence had to promise reformation, it was giving men, in the name of the Church, permission to sin, and among an ignorant and rude people was tantamount to the encouragement of gross immorality.

This rank offense that smelled to heaven and cast reproach upon the Church resulted from the fundamental error of substituting works for faith in Christ. When works were made co-ordinate with faith, as was done by the mediæval theology, and faith itself was but submission to the Church and not trust in Christ,

the consequences were no less subversive and soul-destroying. For, according to the scriptures, good works are not a condition of salvation but the fruit and manifestation of saving faith.

Another departure from the principles of the Church as founded by the Apostles was the institution of a priesthood to intervene between man and God. The Old Testament sacerdotal service had found its fulfilment in Jesus Christ, "who offered one sacrifice for sins forever," and who having by this "one offering perfected forever them that are sanctified," appointed no priests in his Church. In this again lies a broad and essential contrast between the Christian religion and all religions which are of human origin. The soul, however defiled or debased, has free access to the fountains of grace. It may come into immediate communion with God. The Gospel knows of no intervention between the sinner and his atoning Savior. It presents a publican and a dying thief justified through the simple cry for mercy. Confident of having a great High Priest, that is passed into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, believers are encouraged to come boldly unto the throne of grace, that they may obtain mercy, and find grace to help in time of need. Heb. 4: 14, 16. In respect to immediate access to God all are priests, all have the same rights, the same privileges. The priesthood is universal. The one real Mediator between God and man is Jesus Christ, who is our Advocate with the Father, who ever maketh intercession for us, and who has given his people the inestimable promise, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, whatsoever

ye shall ask the Father in my name, he will give it you."

This priceless gift of God, this inalienable right was wrested from men and vested in a special order, a mediatorial caste, who usurped the place, the office and the Word of Christ, who claimed to hold in trust the treasures of grace, to have in their possession the key of heaven, and to have exclusive authority to dispense the blessing of salvation. They stationed themselves between the soul and its Savior, denied immediate personal access to God and refused salvation to all who would not seek it in those forms and channels of which they claimed exclusive control. Faith in the priest became thus substituted for faith in the Lord Jesus, and in fact this perversion of the conditions of salvation involved in the priesthood, rendered it necessary to change the essence of faith, which from being a confident reliance on the grace of God through Jesus Christ, came to mean submission to the authority and declaration of the priest. His forgiveness was God's forgiveness. From his refusal there was no appeal. It meant exclusion from heaven.

"Christendom was divided into two unequal parties: on the one side is a separate caste of priests, daring to usurp the name of the Church, and claiming to be invested with peculiar privileges in the eyes of the Lord; and on the other, servile flocks reduced to a blind and passive submission—a people gagged and fettered, and given over to a haughty caste."

To become really pious one must indeed enter a monastery. It was the common belief that a truly

religious life was possible only in the clerical profession or in the monastic habit. This was represented among other things in a picture, which deeply impressed Luther in his childhood: "The Church was set forth as a great ship bound for heaven, carrying only the clergy and monks, while the laity swam about in the water, some holding to ropes which were thrown to them from the ship, others drowning helplessly in the waves."

As grace was originally free to all, as there was in the Christian community an equality in privilege the Church was really an association of equals. It formed a community of brethren, with Christ the elder brother as Lord. No man was called master. The Church was a brotherhood, a spiritual democracy. The union of its members was not effected through any outward rule, or by the exercise of any authoritative ascendancy, but a compact association was formed by the bonds of a fraternal relation, by a oneness of faith and purpose, by ties of holy affection, by a common interest, spontaneously ministering to one another, and the greatest of the number were those who ministered. Christ rebuked all ambitious of pre-eminence among his followers, and the Apostles in all their letters declined to be considered lords over God's heritage, and meekly avowed themselves as brethren and fellow-servants of all believers.

But, in course of time, the organization of the Church developed into a powerful hierarchy, a haughty aristocracy, order towering above order, and gaining such a domination as to suppress not only all equality

and fraternity, but all freedom and independence, the sordid lust of power reducing the flock of Christ to the most debasing enslavement of soul and body.

At last the Roman See is made the supreme head of the Church, the monarch of Christendom, the infallible vicar of Christ upon earth. Never before had human ambition reached such vaulting audacity. The bishops of Rome, as if they were the heirs of the Cæsars and had received from them the scepter of universal power, encroached age after age upon the rights of the Christian Church, and finally usurped universal dominion, claiming all people as their subjects and requiring from all ranks absolute submission to their commands.

This high-handed and detestable usurpation is without parallel or analogy. Not content with the spiritual authority which it asserted—seeing in fact that without invading the domain of civil authority, it could not maintain its monstrous despotism in the Church, the papacy insolently arrogated to itself the rights of princes, assumed the exercise of secular power, declared itself supreme over the state as well as the Church, and claimed to be lord of the world, “the fountain of laws,” having jurisdiction “over all the inhabitants of the earth.”

No such claims were ever made for any heathen deity. No such exorbitant prerogatives are compatible with the limitations of the human mind. They are conceivable only as belonging to the infinite God, and as being exercised through his Son our Lord Jesus Christ. Here is a mortal, sinful man, a child of dust, exalting himself as God, so that he

as God, sitteth in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God, and attempting dominion over the state, over the Church, over the divine Word, over the souls of men, over earth and heaven and hell, a dominion from which lay no appeal to any higher court. The Pope was in the place of God.

Such a subversion of truth must in the nature of things be attended by the most baleful results. Instead of being the divine agency for the salvation of sinners and the moral renovation of mankind, the Church became a vast political engine employed for the aggrandizement of power—its energies consumed, and its institutions and ordinances debased and prostituted in interminable contests with those who bravely defended the rights of the state. Absorbed in such pursuits and contests the bishops of the Church could give but little attention to the maintenance of her own purity, to the removal of growing errors and superstitions, to the instruction of the people and the salvation of men. Human souls, the spiritual interests of the race, were sacrificed to the accomplishment of political ends, and instead of bringing to the weary the cup of life the hierarchy was laying on their necks an iron yoke.

The papacy was, besides, often steeped in vices, crimes and shameful debaucheries. The Holy Father was surrounded more than once by abandoned women. "That throne which pretended to rise above the majesty of kings was sunk deep in the dregs of vice," and the notorious courtesans, "Theodora and Marozia installed and deposed at their pleasure the self-styled masters of the Church of Christ, and



TRINITY GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

placed their lovers, sons and grandsons in Saint Peter's chair." This was in the tenth century, notable as the darkest in the Christian era. But a spectacle yet more infamous is presented by the pontifical throne in the times immediately preceding the Reformation. The rapacity, the profligacy and dissoluteness of the papal court at that time are incredible. Alexander VI was openly accused of incest and every disgraceful crime, and was known to sacrifice every other interest to the elevation of his bastard children.

Space fails to speak here in detail of other leprous taints which were eating the life out of Christianity. For the divine institution of marriage and the sacred precincts of the family, we see the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy and its strongest encouragement on all others. The monastic life instituted by men was more holy than the married state instituted by God. The home was no place for earnest piety. The convent was its proper nursery. For the intercession of our divine Advocate were substituted the prayers of the saints, and in cases of distress or calamity appeals were directed to them and divine honors accorded them in the very temple of God. Images and relics were endowed with supernatural qualities, holiness became a local attribute, and the Church of God was everywhere teeming with an idolatry which, excepting in the name of the objects worshipped, differed but little from the paganism of the ancient world.

All the evils which prevailed in the Church, error in doctrine, misrule in administration, corruption in

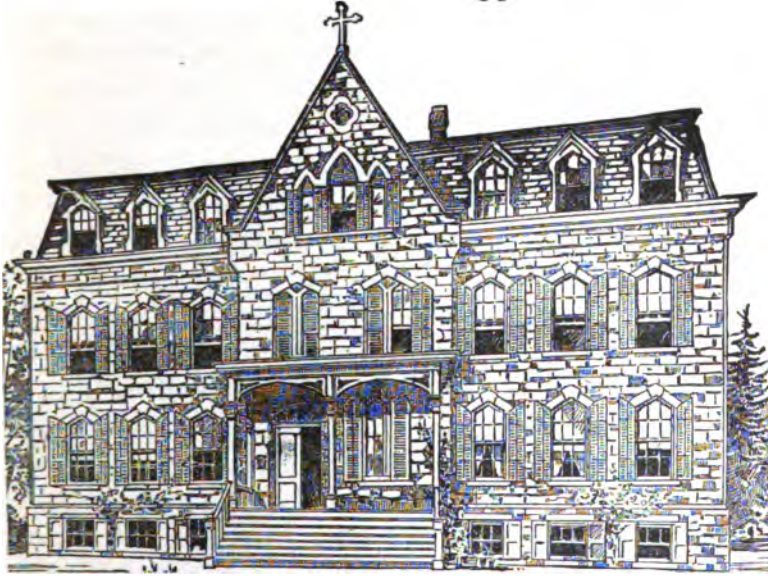
life, and the manifold and terrible forms of oppression wrought remarkably in unison with each other for the development of a colossal system. . Popes and priests, superstition and salvation by human merit, ignorance and idolatry, false dogmas and moral corruption, each fostered the other, and all joined in rearing a structure whose towers cast a dark shadow on the house of God, and whose walls were able to defy every power on earth.

Sad, indeed, beyond description was the state of religion and of morals throughout Christendom in the fourteenth and fifteen centuries. The central teachings of Christ were overlaid with insidious errors. The charter of the Church suffered grievous violence, her character had, in great measure, become changed, her attributes disappeared. The consciences of the people were besotted with the perversions of truth and stifled with a burden of ceremonies. The worst abuses had become identified with religion, and moral rottenness that smelled to heaven was consuming its vitals. The Church was still the Church, but "the whole head was sick, and the whole heart faint."

The magnitude of these scandals was clearly recognized by enlightened minds, and for centuries most strenuous efforts were put forward for their removal and for the purging and reformation of the Church. Every history of that age, Catholic as well as Protestant, admits the fearful degeneracy into which the whole ecclesiastical organism had sunk. The Church had ceased to command any respect or to exert any moral influence over the masses. Secular princes

and learned divines gave expression to the crying need of a thorough reformation in head and members. Imperial diets were summoned to take in hand the frightful abuses which were rife in every quarter, and three consecutive Councils of the Church Universal, at Pisa, at Constance, and Basle, were called exclusively for the purpose of doing something to arrest the growing corruption and the general spiritual decay. The denunciations which Luther uttered against the Romanism of his day, were not strictly original with him. They had been repeated again and again by the staunchest Romanists, long before Luther was born. Open the literature of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries and your eyes will stare and the blood will curdle at the exposure there made of prevailing corruptions in all spheres and ranks of the Church. This is in fact the reason why a Catholic Emperor, for a long time, refused to have the Reformer burned at the stake. He knew that his denunciation of the existing order was but the language of the most pronounced and loyal Catholic divines in former years, that he was voicing the sentiment of millions of his contemporaries. Secular princes, like George of Saxony, who bitterly hated Luther and would gladly have executed him, denounced in unmeasured and scathing terms the encroachments of Rome, made a withering exposure of the prevalent scandals, and brought forward more than one hundred grievances which they requested the Emperor to have rectified, while they conjured him to order a general reformation, and himself to undertake its accomplishment.

This historic circumstance reveals the desperate pass to which things had come: powerful princes crying out against the rapacity and oppression of the Church, and appealing to the sovereign representative of the nation to interpose for their relief, and that too when the Church claimed to have not only a spiritual mission to lighten the sorrows of men and to raise them to freedom and happiness, but asserted



WARTBURG ORPHANS' FARM SCHOOL, MOUNT VERNON, N. Y.

also political prerogatives which secured for it the freest access to their souls and consciences. It was at this juncture, when the wisest men despaired of help from that institution which claimed to hold in its bosom all truth and grace, it was then that they turned to a political ruler for the salvation of mankind. The shelter of the lambs had become a den of tigers and lions. The situation was desperate.

CHAPTER II.

THE REFORMATION.

CHRIST had not abandoned his Church. He had not forgotten the promise of his abiding presence. His hand in the supreme hour of need brought deliverance. Aye, long before the supreme hour had arrived, his providence was at work, slowly maturing the elements and gathering the forces by which might be effected a thorough reformation of the Christian community. History has, by a number of examples, taught us that the interventions of God in human affairs do not occur with magical suddenness nor as isolated phenomena, but that they involve a vast sweep of events and evolutions, all converging to the same consummation. The century immediately anterior to the outbreak of the Reformation was so marked with great historic movements, and these movements had so direct and powerful a bearing on the Reformation, as to indicate, unmistakably, the agency of superhuman wisdom and Almighty power, not only in the ecclesiastical reform itself, but in the extraordinary phenomena which combined to usher it into existence. The evidences of a far-reaching, all-comprehending Providence are incontrovertible. The Reformation was the work of God, a work not of a day, or a year, or a generation, but stretching its roots far back into preceding centuries, and reaching its crisis at the signal of Luther's hammer. An amazing concert of most diverse movements toward one end marks the

whole period. Momentous changes were taking place in the realm of ideas, of government, of inventions and of discoveries, at once producing and proclaiming a general awakening of society, and all not only singularly coincident with but most strikingly convergent to a common result.

The great historians have recognized this singular concurrence of extraordinary events in the political and social life of Europe during the period preceding the Reformation. Even the famous naturalist, Baron Von Humboldt, pauses in his scientific studies to observe: "The fifteenth century belongs to those remarkable epochs in which all the efforts of the mind indicate one determined and general character, and one unchanging striving towards the same goal. The unity of this tendency and the results by which it was crowned, combined with the activity of whole races, give to this age a character both of grandeur and of enduring splendor."

A revival of learning had been kindled through the advent of Greek scholars who, on the fall of Constantinople, sought refuge in Italy. The western world awakened from the slumber of ages, and one of the mightiest intellectual revolutions ever known occurred just in time to become one of the potent factors in securing the triumph of the Reformation. The human mind became once more conscious of its powers, and proceeded to assert its inalienable freedom of expansion, of activity, of inquiry, and of criticism, thus breaking the bonds of sacerdotal training, by which it had for ages been held in subjection and in ignorance. This intellectual awakening gave a powerful momen-

tum to literary culture, kindling new aspirations, producing new tastes, opening up new worlds in the spiritual and physical universe, liberalizing and broadening the views of men, stimulating in them the search after truth and giving them new methods for its discovery and new weapons for its defense.

The movement affected all classes. Monarchs on their thrones, like Maximilian I, Henry VIII, and Frederick of Saxony, applauded it; illustrious knights like von Hutten, in order to share the glory of the new conquests exchanged the sword for the pen; the common people, held for ages in abject bondage, contracted a taste for intellectual liberty and an appetite for intellectual food. The human mind was thus providentially prepared for the Reformation. It had its eyes open for the light about to burst upon the world. It was armed for the coming contest between the old and the new.

And just at this juncture came the art of printing, an invention which in its boundless influence on human society surpasses all other inventions ever devised by man, and which, arriving at that epoch, added its own peculiar excitement to intellectual activity, and in conjunction with the revival of literature became a prodigious factor in bringing about the great moral revolution of the sixteenth century.

Just at this time, too, mariners having learned the use of the magnetic compass, crossed the trackless oceans and made the discovery of new worlds, which in turn again produced new impulses and new ideas, widened the horizon of thought and endeavor, prompted the initial steps of colonization, gave a vast

expansion to commerce and international intercourse, and to an incalculable extent affected the intellectual, social and moral interests of mankind.

Simultaneously with the new learning we witness a great reaction of national feeling. Nations become conscious of their rights and their power. Civil government is undergoing a process of centralization and consolidation. Monarchies are acquiring a firm organization and growing into compact state systems, with rulers capable of withstanding the encroachments of the papacy and repelling its insolent assumptions. It was of immense consequence to the Reformation that just before or simultaneously with its rise, princes like Ferdinand of Arragon, Maximilian of Austria, Frederick of Saxony, Charles V of Germany and Henry VIII of England, were on the throne, monarchs who, though they had been carefully trained by the clergy, yet had been sufficiently enlightened by the new learning to recognize the usurpations of the popes and to gauge their proficiency in the basest arts of diplomacy and dissimulation. Loyal sons of the Church, as these princes were, they could detect a scoundrel under pontifical robes, and they had no scruple in opposing with all the might of secular power, those Holy Fathers who were prostituting their spiritual functions for political ends.

Along with the establishment of stalwart monarchies, this era was marked also by the powerful development of free cities, composed of the sturdy middle classes, communities whose diversified industry and extensive commerce had sharpened and invigorated their practical understanding, and who long before



THE MARTIN LUTHER MEMORIAL STATUE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

the appearance of Luther had learned to defend their rights against imperious bishops. A great revolution in the Church would have been impossible without a profound change in the popular sentiment toward the hierarchy. The disenchantment of the masses with reference to Holy Mother Church must be effected, the faith of mankind in the spiritual authority of the clergy must be shattered, before any success could attend so radical a reformation as was called for. Nothing of abiding results can be achieved independently of the people. And the people had gradually come to open their eyes. The reactions and complainings of a thousand years had acted upon the popular mind. Men had grown familiar with the idea, often broached, that the pope was, after all, a mere man, sometimes even a very bad man. "The people in general began to suspect that he was not much holier than their own bishops, whose reputation was very equivocal. The indignation of Christendom had been excited by the immorality of the popes, and a hatred of the Roman name was deeply seated in the hearts of nations." Everywhere, from high to low, was heard a hollow murmur, a forerunner of the thunderbolt that was soon to fall.

And surely not the most insignificant agent in the providential concurrence of historic phenomena was the presence of the Turk on the frontier of the Empire. As often as the Catholic states were on the verge of making deadly war upon the Protestants, a sudden invasion of the Turkish legions compelled the union of the German armies in a defensive campaign against the common foe.

An extraordinary unity of purpose is thus revealed by a series of remarkable movements and the co-working of the most diverse elements on the eve of the Reformation—a drama of Providence that challenges the admiration of the philosopher, the faith of the Christian and the abiding gratitude of the Protestant world.

Think of it! Mahomet and Columbus, Charles V and Henry VIII, Frederick the Wise and Ulrich von Hutten, Guttenberg and Erasmus, men of the most opposite character and aim, all combining to bring about the same tremendous result, all unconsciously moving in chorus to the same consummation, destroying the prestige of the Roman See, effecting intellectual and spiritual emancipation, producing a portentous disaffection with the existing order, and bringing on a profound crisis in society, so that princes and peoples, philosophers and peasants, stood like sentinels on their watch-towers waiting for a mighty revolution, listening for the first blast of Luther's trumpet.

They did not listen in vain. The man for the hour was at hand. The same Lord who, by sundry agencies and in diverse manners, had marshalled and equipped his forces for the great battle, had also raised up and trained his servant to take the command of these forces and to lead them on to victory, to impersonate the gigantic revolution and to control the introduction of a new era.

Whenever the clock strikes, the man for the hour appears upon the stage. To rescue truth from its enemies, to deliver a people from oppression or an-

archy, to effect beneficent revolutions in society,—in each momentous crisis the very man required by the occasion is sure to come to the kingdom for such a time as this. Moses, David, Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar, Paul, Charlemagne, Cromwell, Washington, Lincoln, were not evolved from a fortuitous concourse of atoms. They were men sent from God, and came endowed with the faculties required for their task and singularly fitted by peculiar experiences to accomplish their mission. In each case the man, the time, and the work coincided.

Of no one is this more manifestly true than of Martin Luther, a genius "in whom was found the rarest combination of all the gifts and qualities of spirit, mind, character and will, requisite to the great work. He was, moreover, providentially trained for his high mission by the events of his life, and by being made to experience in his own soul the essential principles of the Reformation." He must needs also have such undeniable proofs of their divine power as impelled him irresistably to communicate to the world this most sacred and precious experience of his life. Bayne, an English layman, says: "The persuasion, in its various degrees of strength, from a mere admission of possibility up to impassioned confidence, that Luther was a man of God empowered to speak to his generation, not only pervaded the mass of his followers, already in the end of 1520 an enormous multitude, but had a potent influence upon those who resisted him * * * The sentiment of Europe, a sentiment diffused in the courts of princes and penetrating to the inner cham-

bers of the Vatican itself was to the effect that if one went to inquire of God, a more authentic message from Him might be had through this blameless monk, this preacher of righteousness, than by the lips of lordly cardinals, or of Leo spurred and booted for the chase."

On this man was devolved the stupendous task of rescuing the Christian Church from tyranny, fetters, and corruption. And Rome had herself forged the weapon that was destined to smite her. If there ever was a devoted son of the Church, if ever the papistic usurpation had ingrained itself in the soul of a devotee, if ever a mortal had with all his might endeavored to follow the prescribed course of seeking salvation by works, that mortal was Martin Luther.

Reared in the domestic austerity, which was enforced by the legalistic rigor of the papal system, his mind had early been filled with the superstitions which were incorporated with a debased Christianity, while he was withal possessed of the strongest instincts of reverence and religious feeling, rendering him peculiarly susceptible to the gloom and awe diffused by the spiritual instruction of the age. All sacred things had become associated with a transcendency of terror. Even Christ, the dear Redeemer, "was throned in terror, an iron-featured judge, whose breath was consuming fire. Only through Mary, his tender, Virgin Mother, could one safely and hopefully approach Christ himself." Young Martin was, in the course of time, occupied with the thought of monkish holiness, and at the age of twenty-one sought refuge

from an angry God within the precincts of a cloister. There, by dint of hard endeavor and cruel self-mortifications, he hoped to work out his salvation and propitiate that gruesome, terrific judge which Jesus Christ had been represented to him in all the teachings he had received both in school and at church. Of faith in Christ, as the simple, gracious way of pardon, he had positively never heard. His whole trust had been placed in Mary. Although, on one occasion, when he sank to the earth from the shock of a deafening thunder-clap, he addressed another saint, crying out as soon as he recovered consciousness, "Help, sweet Saint Anne; save me, save me, and I will become a monk."

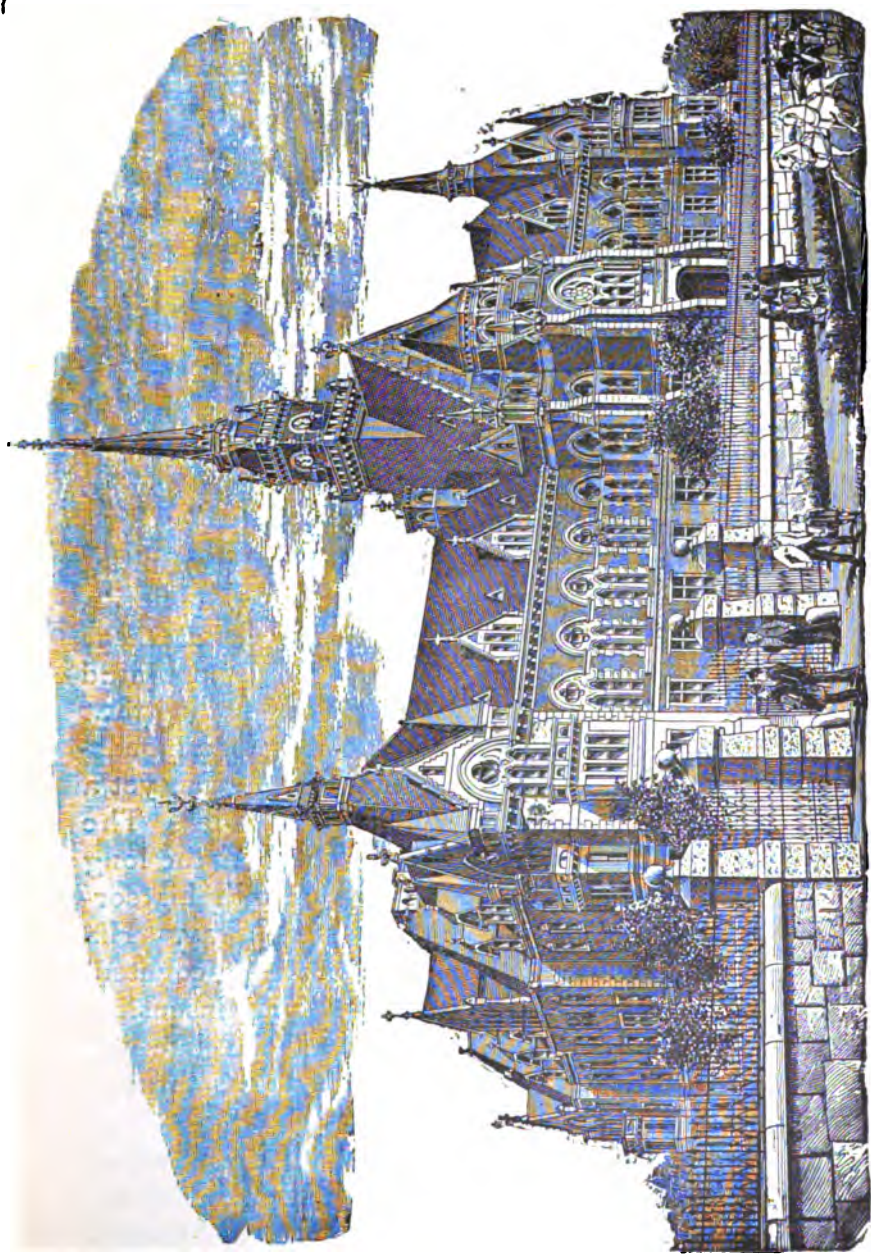
The liberator of the Church must needs himself have endured the horrors of slavery. The deliverer of his age from the wretched superstitions under which it groaned, must first himself have felt their baleful power. It was Paul's personal experience of the hard Pharisaic bondage that afterwards enabled him, as a freeman of Christ, to strike its fetters from the Christian conscience. So with Luther. On entering the cloister the monks at once subjected their learned and distinguished novice to the harshest treatment and imposed upon him the most menial service. His mind must be humbled, his spirit broken, by the most humiliating offices. He cleans out the cells, sweeps the Church, and traverses the street with a wallet begging bread from house to house. Returning within the walls he must shut himself up in a low, narrow cell, and to all this he submits willingly. He renounces not only what is pleasing to the flesh, but even the

books that regale the mind, determined to be out and out a monk, and perform all the works and mortifications, and to undergo all the outrageous severities and cruelties of an unnatural and monstrous asceticism.

At a later period, when allowed to resume his studies, he pursued them with such zest that he often happened not to repeat the daily prayers for three or four weeks together. Then becoming alarmed at this violation of the monastic rules, he shut himself up "and began to repeat conscientiously all the prayers he had omitted, without a thought of either eating or drinking. Once, even for seven weeks together, he scarcely closed his eyes in sleep." Nothing was too great a sacrifice for him in order to secure holiness. He was resolved to merit heaven by abstinence. "Never," says a historian, "did the Romish Church possess a more pious monk. Never did cloister witness more severe and indefatigable exertions to purchase eternal salvation."

After he had entered upon his reforming work, and boldly announced that heaven could not be obtained by such means he adds; "If ever monk could obtain heaven by his monkish works, I should certainly have been entitled to it. Of this all the friars who have known me can testify. If it had continued much longer, I should have carried my mortifications even to death, by means of my watchings, prayers, reading, and other labors."

He knew the bitterness of that cup, which Rome compelled her subjects to drain, and he knew, too, that it was no cup of salvation. The cloister brought



MARY J. DREXEL HOME AND PHILADELPHIA MOTHER-HOUSE OF DEACONESSES, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

him no repose. It gave his conscience no peace. The assurance of pardon, which he craved, continued to be his ever-crying want, despite the fastings, watchings, and other outward observances to which he attended so faithfully. The fears and terrors which had driven him within the walls of a cell pursued him within and plunged him into despair. The more he strove to appease the anger of God, the darker became the vision of his sins, the more polluted his heart, and the more frightful his agonies of contrition. He says that he had recourse to a thousand methods to stifle the cries of his conscience. Every day he went to confession, but found it of no avail.

Discovering at last the impossibility of propitiating God and securing salvation by his own merits, realizing the impotency and worthlessness of all these rigorous and irrational expedients, utterly disappointed in his expectations of becoming holy, and finding that notwithstanding his penances and confessions, monastic austerities and priestly absolutions he was yet a lost soul, his life became a mortal struggle. "The young monk crept like a shadow through the long galleries of the cloister that re-echoed with his sorrowful moanings." His body wasted away. His strength began to fail. His bones could be counted. His eyes were sunken. He was found lying insensible on a stone floor. For days he remained like one dead, exhausted by the struggles and storms through which he was passing.

A truer portrait of Romanism in its error and its impotence can nowhere be found. Luther's personal experience is the best commentary on the corrupt

teachings and the pernicious practices which then universally prevailed.

But his coming to the light and peace of the gospel is also the best illustration, the living embodiment of the Reformation of which he was the peerless and immortal hero. Luther's religious experience was the mirror, the microcosm, of the Reformation. His rich nature compassed all its element. Such were his great talents and characteristics, and such the situation of Europe at the time, "that the Reformation, in fact, passed from the mind of the one into the mind of the other." It pleased God to reveal in his earnest soul, his Son, Jesus Christ, the bearer of the world's sin, and then the Reformation sprang living from his heart.

While he continued to torture his bosom with vows and works, and a thousand insupportable tasks, Staupitz, the general of the Augustinians, came providentially on a visit of inspection. Himself a subject of saving grace, he not only recognized the deep unrest and melancholy of Luther, with which others had grown familiar, but he also clearly understood the nature of the struggle through which he was passing, and earnestly pointed him to the wounds of Jesus Christ, to the blood shed for his sins, and urged him to cast himself into the Redeemer's arms, and to trust in him for righteousness. God is love and his favor is not to be sought with self-torture and mortifications. With these instructions came sweet peace into his storm-tossed breast, as when the Master calmed the waves of Galilee. It seemed to Luther that Jesus Christ himself was addressing to him these

sweet and healing words. He is assured of the forgiveness of his sins. A mighty change passed over his spirit. Repentance, which had been the bitterness of anguish, turned now to sweetness and delight. And the Scriptures—what a new meaning they possess! What an illumination has come over them! He studies them with ever-increasing zeal, and they enter his mind like great streams of light. "His struggles have prepared his heart to understand the Word. The soil has been ploughed deep; the incorruptible seed sinks into it with power." He has found the Saviour. He has found his gospel. He has received salvation immediately from God, and on the warrant of His Word. A voice of thunder resounds unceasingly within his breast, "the just shall live by faith." The Spirit of God kept pressing these words upon his heart, until he clearly learned that a sinner's justification proceeds from the mercy of God through faith, and then he says, "I felt born again like a new man."

The Reformation was born. Luther himself does not yet perceive it, though his own experience is the epitome and the prophecy of the impending crisis. In its essential features it has been wrought out and mirrored in Luther's soul. "What was to revolutionize Christendom and start afresh the course of history first revolutionized Luther and started him in the new life." A new morning dawned upon the world.

Experience is the sovereign test of truth. Here was an earnest and highly gifted soul seeking its own salvation, and trying all the expedients which a degene-

rate system had, from time to time, invented and sanctioned, but only to sink deeper into the mire of his sinfulness and spiritual helplessness. At last he is brought to trust himself solely to the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, and his conscience has peace, his soul has an accession of spiritual power.

It was not a momentary thrill that passed over his bosom. It was not an evanescent calm experienced by a storm-tossed mind. It was a passage from darkness to light, from helpless prostration to spiritual energy, and new light and new strength continued to pour into his breast. If periods of despondency returned, and the dreadful nature of sin pressed again heavily upon him, he made, in each instance, a fresh application of the same remedy, and every time it availed for the same result. He found assurance of salvation. He attained the abiding joyous freedom of God's children.

All the ordinances and devices of the Romish Church having failed Luther in the supreme crisis of his conversion, he gradually came to recognize their uselessness and utter worthlessness. Of what value are fasts and penance and self-mortifications, priestly manipulations and all the mediatorial assumptions of the clergy, if they fail to bring the sinner to his Savior? And when simple faith lands him in the Savior's arms, what further need has the soul of them anyhow? Turning away from all such expedients Luther cast himself immediately upon the warm bosom of his Lord. He found pardon and justification by faith alone.

As the light grew brighter in his soul the surround-

ing darkness became to his eyes more and more appalling. The grossness and pernicious character of the abounding corruption began to weigh heavily upon his mind. The vast system of works, and merits, and satisfaction, and indulgences, he now discovered to be at war with the central doctrine of Christianity, salvation by grace. Yet everywhere the ecclesiastical authorities upheld these as the requisite conditions of salvation, lauded the purchasing power of human merit, stamped a false value upon man's righteousness before the divine judge, and treated the whole subject of redemption as if it were a commercial transaction between God and the sinner, the latter furnishing from his own bankrupt store a fair equivalent for the grace received, the priest acting as the intermediate agent.

In the Bible, a copy of which, to his great surprise, he found one day in the University library, he found none of these things. The way of salvation, as there portrayed, is the very way now reached by his wandering feet. The answer which in his profound distress came to Luther, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved," was the answer of an inspired Apostle—it was, in fact, the answer of the Lord Jesus who came into the world to save sinners, and who by the shedding of his precious blood has opened a new and living way unto God. It is the answer throughout, of the Scriptures, which reveal the way of salvation. It is the voice of God. The answer of Rome, on the other hand, was, "Submit to the Church, perform good works, seek priestly

mediation, do penance, make satisfaction." This does not accord with that. It is the voice of man.

Thus by the stress of circumstances, and through a profound personal experience, Luther came gradually to doubt the infallibility of the Church, and with this to question its authority. It was a hard struggle with him—for he had been a most loyal son of the Church. He had most humbly and unquestionably received her teachings. Even after his enlightenment he clung with obstinacy to her papal head, and it was a terrible discovery for him to learn that after all she was not the depositary of infallible truth, her authority was not supreme, the fathers and bishops and popes had made departures from the Scriptures, Councils were but an aggregate of fallible men, and had pronounced in favor of errors; that, in fine, the only supreme and infallible authority was the inspired volume.

In this manner the two cardinal principles of the Reformation came to be developed, the sinner's justification by faith alone, and the Word of God as the sole authority for faith and life. These two fundamental truths, the condition of salvation and the warrant for it, are the poles on which the whole movement turned and by which all its essential features were determined. They formed its heart and its panoply.

The Reformation, let it ever be borne in mind, was an intensely spiritual work. It was in the best and fullest sense of the term, a revival. A cry was going up all over Christendom, what must I do to be saved? With what mockery and paraphernalia Rome made

answer to this cry, and how unavailing it was, we have already seen. We have seen, too, the answer which came to Luther out of the Scriptures, and how efficacious it proved. Having the warrant from God's Word that the just shall live by faith, and finding that the ordinances and institutions of the hierarchy were at war with this truth, he rested upon the authority of the Scriptures and made a stand for their supremacy, over against the decrees, the dogmas and traditions of the Church.

These two principles, called in theology the material and the formal principles of the Reformation logically, naturally and inevitably go together. Had not God's holy Word been overlaid and buried under numberless strata of human interpretation, ecclesiastical authority and conciliar dogmas, the simple way of life by faith in Christ could never have been obscured and well-nigh closed. It has been said with striking force, "the deepest curse under which the Church was groaning, was the practical dethronement of God's Word." Now it comes once more to its proper honor and position. All appeals are taken to it, and when Luther, in that immortal scene at Worms, deliberately, at the risk of his life, declares "unless I am convinced out of the Holy Scriptures, or by clear and distinct arguments, I may not and cannot retract; here I stand, God help me," he laid the corner-stone of Protestantism and defied the assembled might of Hierarchy and Empire to overturn it. "That was the appeal of the Church to her divine charter and charter rights, against a falsifying hierarchy which was not the Church." The Word thus restored to

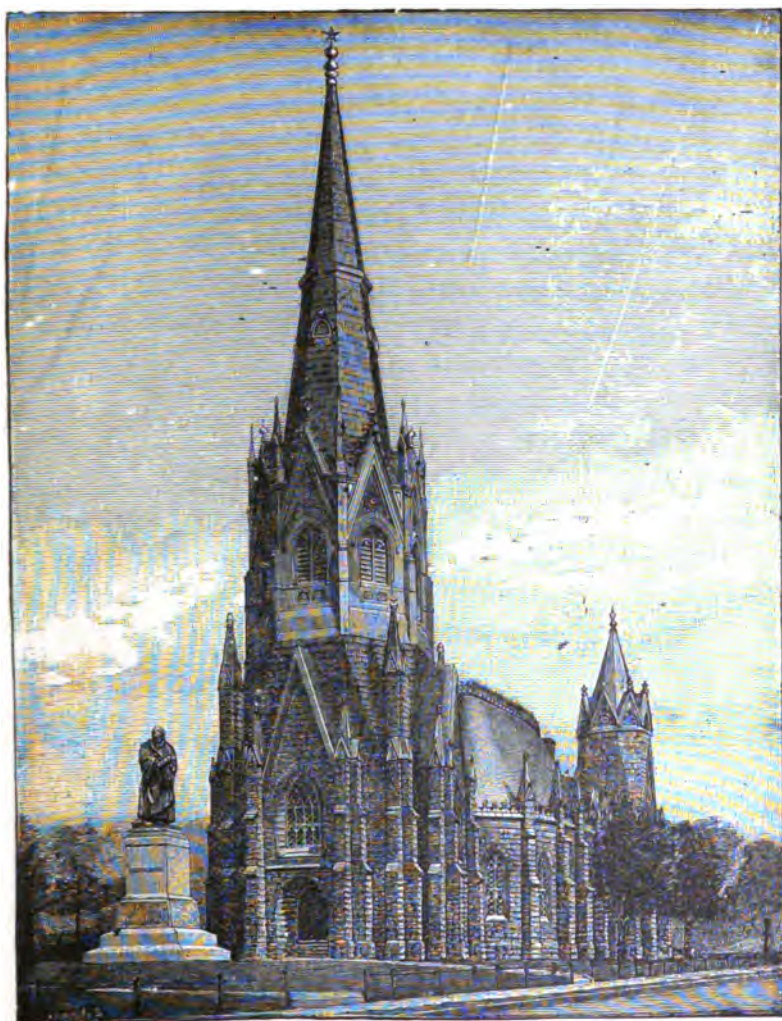
supremacy, and all dogmas, traditions and claims tested by its teachings, there was involved in it inevitably the right and assertion for every man, especially for every believer, to study and to interpret the Scriptures for himself. Salvation is an individual matter, the work of a personal faith resting upon the grace and promises of God. The sinner having direct access to his Savior on the ground of the divine Word, no power on earth can deprive him of his title or wrest from him that which is to him individually, as well as to the Church, the embodiment of supreme authority, the infallible chart to govern his belief and his conduct. With the assertion of these principles the Reformation achieved its triumph.

The crisis arrived when Tetzel opened at Jüterbok his abominable market for the sale of Indulgences. He was not allowed to carry on his trade in Wittenberg, because the Elector Frederick was unwilling to have his country drained of money. At Jüterbok, however, which was beyond his jurisdiction, the sale of forgiveness could proceed without hindrance, and thousands of the deluded people flocked thither to invest their scanty earnings. A new impetus had just been given to the traffic in Indulgences by the erection of St. Peter's Church at Rome. Vast sums were required for the magnificent edifice, and a luxurious and splendor-loving Pope, Leo X., whose very faith in Christianity has been questioned, and the morals of whose court was one of the numerous scandals of the period, had no scruple, in raising funds, to resort to this foul, soul-destroying business. "Meanwhile, the popes were not ashamed to appropriate freely to

their own needs and to other objects, such as the war with Turkey, that Indulgence money, which was nominally for the Church." It is, perhaps, of little moment in what way, or for what ends, a fund thus acquired is expended.

For the farming of this revenue in Germany a suitable instrument was found in Albert, Archbishop of Mayence and of Magdeburg—Luther's own bishop—a prince of the Church, who, although drawing the lucrative proceeds of two Archdioceses, had, by his fondness for architectural splendor, his extravagant court, and especially the heavy payment he had been required to make for his appointment, become very deeply involved in debt. So a bargain was struck between him and the Holy Father by which he was to retain half of the profits arising from this nefarious traffic. And it is given as a sober historical fact, that behind the preacher of Indulgences, who announced God's mercy to all who handed over the price of sins, stood the agents of the Archbishop's creditors collecting their principal's share of the proceeds.

Contemporary historians describe "the lofty and well-ordered pomp with which such a commissioner entered on the performance of his exalted duties. Priests, monks, and magistrates, schoolmasters and scholars, men, women and children, went forth in procession to meet him, with songs and ringing of bells, with flags and torches. They entered the Church together amidst the pealing of the organ. In the middle of the Church, before the altar, was erected a large, red cross, hung with a silken banner which bore the papal arms. Before the cross was placed a large



MEMORIAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C.

iron chest to receive the money ; specimens of these chests are still shown in many places. Daily, by sermons, hymns, processions round the cross, and other means of attraction, the people were invited and urged to embrace this incomparable offer of salvation." The time for reform, one would think, had certainly come.

To the atrocious and ruinous character of this sale of forgiveness Luther's eyes became fully opened in the confessional, where he found conscience-stricken souls appealing to these Indulgences through which they purchased salvation. He had for some time previously warned his congregation against putting trust in them and had openly avowed his hostility to the system as it was being worked. He was, in fact, "burning to protest against the scandal," although he confessed himself not yet in the clear about all of its features. He had written to some bishops, receiving various replies, but finding no one prepared to take any steps in the matter. "Every one," said he, "complained of the Indulgences, but nobody was willing to bell the cat."

At last further silence became impossible. The ruin of souls, revealed to him as he was hearing confession, compelled him to rise in opposition. Accordingly, on the eve of All-Saints' Day, October 31, 1517, he posted on the doors of the Castle Church, at Wittenberg, ninety-five Latin theses or propositions on this subject, hoping thereby to call the attention of ecclesiastics and theologians to the great evil, and by stating his own doubts and opinions to challenge disputation and thus bring about public discussion. Such

a procedure was not uncommon at that day, and at the Universities, and among theologians, it was the practice to have such public disputations as a means not only of exercising learned thought, but of elucidating truth.

At ordinary times, therefore, the bold act of the Reformer in nailing up those theses would not have provoked any special notice, or given rise to any commotion, although by announcing the doctrine of free and gratuitous remission of sins he heralded the Reformation. But, as we have observed, these were not ordinary times. The state of mind, all over Europe, was such that a very trifling incident became the note of a bugle, at the sound of which all Christendom sprang into action. Luther's hammer emitted a few sparks. The inflammable material, which lay in masses everywhere, caught fire and, as with the rapidity of lightning, a conflagration spread from Wittenberg to every part of the Christian world. "In a fortnight," says a contemporary, "these theses were in every part of Germany, and in four weeks they had traversed nearly the whole of Christendom, as if the very angels had been their messengers, and had placed them before the eyes of all men." "Every one read them, meditated and commented on them."

Little had the humble monk dreamed of what he was doing. He had hoped to bring about a simple public disputation in which he proposed humbly, but with all his might, to defend the fundamental doctrine of the gospel, the freeness of salvation through Christ, and lo! he has awakened a discussion which is shaking the Church to its center. All Europe is involved

in the tremendous commotion, and without ever having intended it, shrinking in his soul from the very thought of it, Luther suddenly finds himself at the head of a colossal movement against the central authority of the Church, a movement which no power on earth could now stay and which, by the irresistible logic of events, he was charged under God to direct and control.

The papacy was roused by the terrific noise. This monk must be silenced. He is summoned to recant his teachings in the theses and in his publications, and as this was not in the line of his convictions the ban of excommunication is hurled against him. When no one in authority dares to pay any heed to this, and as excommunication loses its terror if the subject of it keeps at large prosecuting the work for which he was anathematized, the congress of the Empire is convoked in order to dispose of this Wittenberg monk who set the world on fire. At the fiat of the Pope, the lord of the kingdoms of this world, the Emperor is constrained to make effective the bull of excommunication. He assembles, in 1521, the great Diet, at that time the mightiest political body in the world, and the solitary monk is required to appear in person before it. He makes his defense before the princes and prelates. He solemnly plants himself on the Word and refuses point blank to surrender his convictions and his conscience. In God's name he bids defiance to priests and potentates and powers, and by his firm stand marks an epoch in the progress of human freedom. Ready to live or die he is placed by friends under the shelter of a castle, and from

thence he gives the word of life to the German people in their own tongue.

A large part of the nation have already embraced the evangelical faith. Great princes of the Empire refuse to join in the condemnation of a man who has the courage to tell the naked truth about Rome, and who once more proclaims the Gospel of a salvation purchased once for all by the blood of the Lamb. Electoral Saxony joins the Reformation. So does Brandenburg, Hesse, Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Lüneburg, Friesland, and nearly all the free cities which had long been impatient of Episcopal rule: Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, Magdeburg, Frankfort, Göttingen, and Nuremberg. As early as the Diet of Spire, in 1526, the countries holding the evangelical faith had become so numerous and so strong as to extort from the national congress the right, for the time being, to maintain the new order, to have the unrestricted preaching of the Gospel and the organization of the Churches in independence of the hierarchy, a right which they never again surrendered, though repeatedly threatened with violent measures if all was not brought back under the old papal regime. In a few more years Schleswig and Holstein adopted the evangelical faith, as did also Silesia, Prussia, Anhalt, Ducal Saxony, Brunswick and the Palatinate, almost the whole of northern Germany and a large part of South Germany, inclusive of nearly all the powerful free cities. Without doubt a majority of the people in countries which remained Roman Catholic, were in sympathy with the Reformation and hungering for the Gospel and its life of freedom, but the intolerance

farewell to their old flocks in the language of anathema the people, transported with joy by peace and liberty, surrounded the new preachers with their applause, and thirsting for the word of God, carried them in triumph into the Church and into the pulpit.

"A word of power, proceeding from God, was at that time regenerating society. The people or their leaders would frequently invite some man, celebrated for his faith, to come and enlighten them; and instantly for love of the Gospel he abandoned his interests and his family, his country and friends. Persecution often compelled the partisans of the Reformation to leave their homes: they reached some spot where it was as yet unknown; here they would enter a house that offered an asylum to poor travelers; there they would speak of the Gospel, read a chapter to the attentive hearers, and perhaps obtain permission to preach publicly in the Church * * * If they could not preach in the Church, they found some other spot. Every place became a temple."



PHILIP MELANCTHON.

CHAPTER III.

THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

GOD'S providence and the preaching of the pure gospel of salvation brought into being the Evangelical Lutheran Church. It is the unanimous testimony of Protestant historians that Luther shrunk with holy horror from the idea of a separation from the Church presided over by the Roman See. He had a most profound reverence for the dogmas and institutions which had prevailed through ages. His attacks were leveled at first only against a few gross abuses, and he was so innocent as to believe that the Pope himself and all pious theologians would join in their condemnation, when they became fully informed of these evils. He could not have believed that they had become so corrupted by error and so poisoned by its virus, that they would resist every attempt at the purification of the house of God. He had no idea that the chief shepherds of the Church could brand, outlaw and burn at the stake men who pointed sinners to "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." He had not anticipated that the Holy Scriptures and the Holy Papacy stood in irreconcilable conflict with each other. Having planted himself on the eternal rock of truth, and confident of the material on which he stood, he now could not do otherwise than maintain his position, and if Rome declared that treason, and proposed to make

war upon him, Rome must take the consequences. The truth was dearer to him than all the sacred traditions he had so profoundly venerated, and the truth, he well knew, was the only invincible power upon earth. The Church rests upon God's Word as her foundation stone. She stands or falls with the doctrines of grace and so Luther, secure of his position, went on purging and cleansing the sanctuary as God led him, until a glorious anti-papal, Evangelical Church arose over Europe.

God did lead him, and God did protect him. We have seen how wonderfully the soil was made ready for the seed of the Word, how events had conspired to bring on the crisis, how the colossus of Rome was tottering from its weight, how the reverence for the Papacy had been shattered and the minds of men disenchanted, how a multitude of new ideas had spread over every land, how society in every grade was pulsating with a new life, how the printing press had scattered its pages of light into the most distant places, and the discovery of new worlds had extended the horizon of human thought. Everything portended a great revolution. All men had a presentiment of an impending crisis. Some, judging from the fearful decay in the Church, foretold the near approach of Anti-christ, while others cherished an ardent expectation of a Reformation close at hand. If God rules in the affairs of men, there was certainly here, in this universal concurrence, a revelation of his mighty providence.

And no less conspicuous is the hand of God in the protection of his servant through all the perils and

struggles which he encountered, and in the triumphant issue which crowned his work. From the moment he uttered truths which were at variance with the existing order in the Church, he jeopardized his life, and it is one of the marvels of history that, with the ban of the civil and ecclesiastical authorities branded upon him, the Reformer escaped unharmed from the fiery furnace. How did it come, about that a powerful, earthly prince, Frederick the Wise, who never personally met him, and who, for a long time, avowed no sympathy with his views, saw fit to cast the shield of protection over his person? How was it that the Emperor, who was lord of two worlds and in full alliance with the papacy in every attempt at smiting Luther and crushing his work, found himself paralyzed in the critical juncture and compelled to let the cause advance until it defied repression? How was it that when Luther walked right into the jaws of death at Worms, and when scarcely a mortal expected to see him come out of the city alive, he passed out as he entered, the hero of the age? The imperial safe-conduct, under which he went and came, was the facsimile of the one granted to Huss to assure his safe return from Constance, but Huss was burnt by the Council as a heretic, and so was Jerome, his coadjutor, while Luther, who was spreading doctrines far more dangerous to the papacy, went back to Wartburg and from there brandished a sword which pierced the vitals of his enemies. Savonarola taught in Florence the way of salvation, as revealed in the Scriptures, and instituted a moral and religious Reformation, but he died at the stake as a heretic and a

seducer of the people. Wycliffe maintained that the only source and rule of faith were the Holy Scriptures, and sought to inaugurate a thorough reform of the Church, but, although the civil power protected his person from molestation, he was stripped of his offices, debarred from public teaching and kept in retirement, while his principal friends were either driven out of the country or forced to recant.

The penalty for the crime of murder in civilized states is death by hanging. The penalty for attempting the reform of the Church and for preaching a pure Gospel was, at that period, death at the stake, and nothing else could have been anticipated for Luther who boldly bearded the lion in his den. Yet from the daring step of posting his ninety-five theses, he kept on teaching, preaching, writing, disputing, and publishing, openly, publicly, fearlessly, in the university, in churches, in the presence of the great and the mighty, in the palaces of kings, before august assemblies, his enemies having innumerable opportunities to poison him, to kidnap, slay or burn him, and never was molested, never suffered an injury to a single hair of his head, lived triumphantly till his work was finished and finally passed away as the oracle of his age, dying peacefully in the circle of his friends, with loud thanksgiving to God.

As the leader, so the cause itself received super-human protection. It happens sometimes that the workman falls, but his work is perpetuated; sometimes, as in the case of Wycliffe, the person of the leader is shielded while the issue for which he contended is crushed. But here the leader and the revo-

lution, inseparably united, share alike the guardianship of heaven. That movement for a purified Church and a revived gospel, which might at its bold inception have been strangled by a single hand of civil or ecclesiastical power, was allowed to move on unimpeded until, in its advance, it had gathered such momentum as to sweep before it every barrier, and to overcome all opposition. The arm of the Most High was stretched out for its defense, and moved not only a Frederick and his successors in Saxony to shelter and shield the precious cause, but also a king of France and a king of England, notwithstanding their religious adhesion to Rome, to offer armed resistance to the combinations formed for the destruction of the Reformation. Even Charles V. with all his hatred of Luther and Lutheranism, and his repeated resolve to extinguish both, the mighty potentate who to the end of his life regretted that he had allowed Luther's escape, found himself, just at the moment when he had expected to strike the fatal blow, compelled by political exigencies to recall violent measures, to make a sudden change of front, and to allow the Reformers to prosecute their work in peace. The very Turk, the mortal foe of Christendom, whose baleful shadow cast itself from time to time into the heart of Germany, became more than once an instrument of Providence to shield the work of purifying his Church.

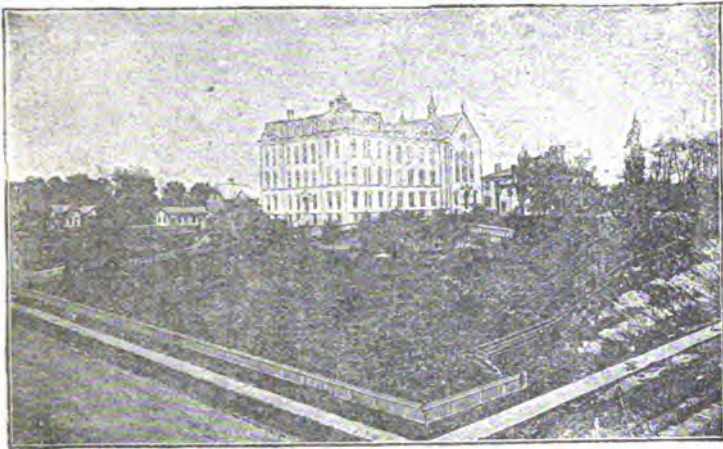
In the spring of 1532, for instance, Soliman was advancing towards the gates of Vienna with an army of three hundred thousand men. An Embassy was sent to offer him the most humiliating terms of peace, so

that the Emperor's hands might be free to crush the Lutherans. He at once inquired, "Has the Emperor made peace with Martin Luther?" and on learning that no such peace had yet been made, he spurned every offer, and spread such consternation in Germany that all the resources of the Empire had to be combined against the common foe.

The Lutheran Reformation thus achieved success, and resulted in a pure Church, while all previous efforts were stamped with disastrous and melancholy failure. Gerson, D'Ailly, and other French reformers, called together Council after Council, and made the most sincere and strenuous efforts to purify the Church in head and members, but all their attempts proved wholly abortive. Papal tyranny, hierarchical assumptions, clerical immorality and all other scandals and wrongs remained as dominant and powerful as before. Germany had its reformers previous to the Reformation, but not a trace of their work survived to give encouragement or direction to Luther. In the Low Countries, nearly a century before Luther noble men had denied the power of the Pope and held out the torch of Evangelical light, but all had again vanished in the surrounding darkness. Of Wycliffe's movement in England it is doubtful whether any germs remained to prove seed-corn for the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Huss and Jerome started a reformation in Bohemia which, in its advocacy of justification by faith and the supremacy of the Scriptures has been very naturally regarded as the precursor of the Lutheran Reformation, but soon after their leaders had attested their

faith at the stake their followers disintegrated into factions, became a prey to fanaticism, were dispersed by the civil authorities and afterwards disappeared from history.

With all these examples of direful and distressing failure staring him in the face, Luther resolutely and without a conscious fear advanced to the attack of the mightiest bulwarks of Rome, effected the libera-



LUTHERAN HOSPITAL, MILWAUKEE, WIS.

tion of the nations from its thralldom and proceeded to build up a church without pope, bishop or priest, tearing down and destroying every structure which man had erected within the temple of the Most High. He succeeds. His work stands. It dates a new epoch not only in the Church but in the world. It marks the birth of modern civilization. The Church reformed abides. It survives the discomfiture of its foes, the storms of succeeding social commotions, the wrecks of time.

Abraham Lincoln was wont to remark during the darkest periods of the civil war, that it had always been his object to find out on which side God is and then to embrace that side, for that was the side that would always win in the end. So in the midst of the tumult created in Jerusalem by the rapid spread of the gospel, there stood up a notable philosopher of the Pharisees and put in an eloquent defense for the Apostles, closing with the earnest charge to "refrain from these men and let them alone, for if this council or this work be of man it will come to naught. But if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God."

That the Reformation was of God can be shown as conclusively as that the material universe is the workmanship of his hand. In nothing, however, is divine interposition so conspicuous as in the protection which marked its progress and the abiding success by which it was crowned. "When He giveth quietness, who then can make trouble?" The battle-hymn of the Reformation was the XLVI. Psalm, and it was not an expression of the lips alone but an immovable conviction among its adherents that "God was in the midst of her; she shall not be moved: God shall help her and that right early. The Lord of hosts is with us, the God of Jacob is our refuge."

But why were success and victory given to Luther, and withheld from other great and true men who had conceived a similar undertaking at other times and in other lands? The real answer to this inquiry is not the extraordinary personality of the Reformer, trans-

cent and unapproachable as that is acknowledged to have been, "a sort of inspired apostle and prophet," who came to the stage of history for such a time as this. Luther was human and had his full share of the limitations and passions and weaknesses of his kind. He was but an instrument. Nor is it sufficient to say that the times were ripe, that the hour had come, for this, after all, does not indicate what was the decisive instrumentality which brought about the result.

Compare the revolution which triumphed under the Lutheran Reformers with the endeavors made so often in the same line by others, and the uniqueness of their reform and the secret of its success become manifest. The Paris Reformers, with all their zeal and energy, directed their attacks against the open and glaring scandals and the accursed oppressions which were festering in the Church, while its falsified faith they had no idea of disturbing, and the doctrine of gratuitous justification they did not so much as understand. Savonarola was not content to purge the Church and its faith, but must also reconstruct the government of his country. Wycliffe formulated a theological system and developed philosophical speculations of interest to thinkers, but he made no impression on the people, and by denying the objective validity of the ordinances, he practically rendered it impossible to establish a visible Church or community. Huss, though giving greater emphasis than Wycliffe to justification by faith, yet fell into his error of spiritualism, which made the Church the totality of the predestinate and empowered only the elect to administer the sacraments, thus vitiating

the nature, the import and the office of the objective Church.

From all these errors the Reformation under Luther was providentially preserved. Taking as his guide implicitly the divine Word and sternly excluding from the Church one by one the false ingredients which could not endure its searching test, this great mind was marvelously held back from those extremes into which reformers and iconoclasts almost inevitably plunge. He, too, was encompassed by these very temptations. The same insidious tendencies, which had wrecked previous efforts, were present and threatened to weaken, to divert and to vitiate the reform; but Luther, like a rock in the sea, stood firm against wind and tide from every quarter, and with the Romanists on the right and the fanatics and anarchists on the left he upheld the simple truth of God without wavering and without compromise.

His own inclinations often prompted him to a more radical course as, for instance, on the Lord's Supper, where at first he was fain to deny an objective presence and to accept the symbolic view, but he had so completely subjected himself to the Scriptures that neither the inclinations of his heart nor the arguments of his reason could be allowed to sway his convictions or to determine his conduct.

By his profound religious experience he had been made to realize that justification by faith was the central doctrine, and giving this its proper position in the preaching of the Gospel, in the system of doctrine, and in the Confession of faith, making it the doctrine of a standing or a falling Church, he was

able to steer clear of the dangerous snags and shoals by which his course was beset, and by which so many others had been shipwrecked. He not only had an infallible compass, but he knew the polar star whose long eclipse had led to many serious errors in the Church, and he knew also its exact place in the system, and thus the ship of Christ outrode the terrific storms and billows which it encountered.

"In the middle of the Confession, as its constructive center," says Thomasius, "is placed the Article on Justification:" "It is further taught that we cannot obtain the pardon of sins and righteousness before God, by our own merits, works, or reparation, but that we receive forgiveness of sins and become righteous before God for Christ's sake, through the faith that Christ has suffered for us, and that for his sake sins are remitted to us, righteousness and eternal life gratuitously given. For this faith God will impute for righteousness before Him, as Paul declares in Romans iii and iv." Here is the secret of the power and the success of the Lutheran Reformation. This was its battle-cry and this truth, the heart of the gospel, made it invincible. Under this banner the Evangelical Lutheran Church came into distinctive being and Jesus Christ was lifted up as the Savior of sinners. Men were everywhere drawn to this uplifted Savior, and those so drawn were justified from their sins, were quickened by the Holy Ghost, and were united in a living communion with the real and divine head of the Church. Thus united with him and possessed of his Spirit they formed an organic part of the body of Christ. They constituted

a Church of the living God, a part of that great community of saints who, in all lands and all ages, agree concerning the Gospel, and have the same Christ, the same Holy Ghost, the same proclamation of grace and the same sacraments. Not a single note of the true Church is wanting, not a single element or part of that building which, not made by hands but being fitly framed together into Christ, "groweth unto a holy temple in the Lord." And such was the power of the spiritual life pulsating in this company of believers, that within the limits of a single generation it so extended its borders as to embrace nearly all the peoples of the Germanic race and the entire population of Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

But while a new and fresh life was throbbing within its bosom, it was not in any sense a new Church which thus spread over Europe. Though it came to bear the name of Luther its inception or genesis does not date from the period of the Reformer's career. The Evangelical Lutheran Church is the Christian Church regenerated, renewed and reformed. It is in all essentials a return to primitive Christianity, a restoration of gospel teaching to its ascendancy in the house of the Lord, a reassertion of the principles which marked the Church in the days of her apostolic purity, when she had the Gospel and the Sacraments, but had neither pope nor priest within her domain. The Church is not a body of officials administering elaborate ceremonies and exercising outward lordship over men's souls; it is the community of believers in Christ, among whom the Gospel is preached in its purity and the Sacraments

are administered according to divine appointment. These and not the former are accordingly the stamp of a church's legitimacy. And these treasures of grace were committed, not to an order of ecclesiastics, but to the whole Church, they are the common heritage of believers, the inalienable right of the body of disciples.

A set of officials may gradually usurp the government of a country, claim to be the lords of a nation and possess themselves of its goods and its rights. For a people to cast off such a usurpation, to assert their inalienable privileges, to resume the control of their property and their government, is not the ruin of a country, nor indeed the creation of a new country, but is simply freeing the land from its tyrants and from the pernicious institutions which their unholy and oppressive rule had imposed upon the people. The Lutherans renounced the papacy, they cast off its fetters, they overturned its ruinous ordinances and with their hands thus freed they grasped the Bible, they pronounced the historic creed, they clasped the ancient faith, they held to the ministry of the Word and Sacraments. And certainly such a departure from the abominable corruptions which had been wickedly brought into the Church, does not involve a departure from the Church itself. It is a return to the true Church, the pure Church. It is a new birth within the old Church, which depends for its life not on the Pope nor any Episcopal administration or manipulation, but upon Jesus Christ, the risen Savior, and upon the Holy Ghost, "the Lord and giver of life."

What, can I not be a member of Christ's Church

without belonging to the Pope's Church? Is the Latin Church the Universal Church? Is there not also a Greek Church? Can there be no German Church, no English Church? Must the Bishop of Rome have jurisdiction over all, a jurisdiction co-extensive with the authority of Christ, and is Romanism identical with the one holy Catholic Church? God forbid! The Scriptures, reason, history, heaven and earth unite in denying this blasphemous assumption and with one voice declare that Christ has a glorious dominion beyond the Roman barriers.

Under that dominion falls the Evangelical Lutheran Church. She recognizes no other. "For one is your master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren." As there is but one Master in the Church, so there is but one Priest, "a great High Priest that is passed into heaven, Jesus the Son of God," "who through the eternal spirit offered himself without spot to God," and by this "one offering hath perfected forever them that are sanctified." And taking his people into living union with Himself he has made all of them "priests of God and of Christ." He has constituted them a universal priesthood, to offer thanksgiving and intercession each in behalf of the other and in behalf of all. And in the exercise of that authority with which the Master has clothed his Church, and in accordance with apostolic practice, as illustrated both in the case of Matthias and in that of the seven deacons, the calling and ordaining of men to administer the Word and Sacraments reverts once more to the entire assembly of believers, to the body of

the Church. "Every Church has lawful authority to ordain ministers for itself. For wherever the Church is, there is verily the command to preach the Gospel. Therefore, the churches undoubtedly retain the authority to call, elect and ordain ministers. And this authority is a privilege which God has given especially to the Church, and it cannot be taken away from the Church by any human power, as Paul testifies, Ephesians iv., where he says: 'When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive and gave gifts unto men.' And among these gifts which belong to the Church, he enumerates pastors and teachers, and adds that these were given for the edifying of the body of Christ. Wherefore it follows that wherever there is a true Church, there is also the power to elect and ordain ministers." And whether this ordination or appointment be conducted through the laying on of the hands of the presbytery or of a single bishop, matters nothing at all, since the ceremony of ordination is nothing more than the minister's authorization, in the name of the Church, to perform official functions.

Luther and his co-laborers accordingly did not frame a new Church. They are not to be considered as founders of a new Church, but, as they themselves uniformly claimed, "renewers of the old Church on the ancient foundations." Christian institutions had fallen into frightful decay, and the work of the Lutherans was that of renovation and preservation. Under God they saved the Church from threatened destruction. The outward organization with its officials and ceremonies which they renounced, is not the veritable

kingdom of God. That cometh not by observation. It is a spiritual body with spiritual functions. And while its life-blood had become seriously tainted and vitiated it still preserved the vital elements of a restorative reaction. It had not lost the inherent capacity for self-purification. Its bosom still contained the living power of truth.

Christianity is not a splendid hierarchy, nor is it a code of priestly prescriptions, but the Gospel of Salvation. This is its divine, imperishable essence. Those are human and may pass away without any hurt to the vitality or integrity of the body of Christ. The former originated with the Lord himself and was preached throughout the world by his Apostles; the latter came in subsequent ages when the light of the Scriptures had become obscured and men no longer saw clearly the way of life. And they did much to obstruct and corrupt the Gospel. What was needed, therefore, to heal the hurt of the daughter of Zion, was that this life-current, purified and reinvigorated, circulate again through every part of the organism, and in this way recover its apostolic purity and vivific power. The Church reappeared in its original form, in its native beauty. It renewed its youth. And the Reformers as they witnessed the triumph of their endeavors, may well have challenged Christendom to show that a single mark was wanting to make the Church as reformed by them identical with the Church of the New Testament. They were permitted to realize the promise of an abiding Spirit wherever the Gospel is preached.

There is, therefore, no pertinence in the sneering

question, Where was the Lutheran Church before the Reformation? As well ask where were your hands before you washed them? Where was the wheat before it was threshed from the chaff? Where was the Jewish Church between the fall of Jerusalem and the edict of Cyrus?

Could Paul and Peter, the reputed founders of the Church at Rome, have returned to it in the sixteenth century, nothing short of a special revelation from heaven could have made them recognize that Church as identical with the Church which they had planted. But had they entered a church of the Reformation they must have rejoiced to hear there the very doctrines of grace which they had proclaimed, to behold the simple observance of the same Sacraments which they had celebrated, and to witness that the Gospel from the lips of reformers, as it had been from their own lips, was still the power of God unto salvation to all them that believe.

The Evangelical Lutheran Church is therefore the revival and the perpetuation of the Apostolic Church. It is the Church of the Bible. Its roots stretch away back into the New Testament. Thence it draws its life. There it beholds its model, with which it stands ready to be compared and tried by any competent tribunal. And if it require any other warrant for its existence, it is its supreme purpose to have the voice of Christ and his Apostles re-echoed within its walls, to countenance no other gospel than what they proclaimed, and to submit to no other dominion over the faith or the consciences of redeemed men.

It has given occasion for much regret that a body

of Christians, bearing the unchallenged stamp of Apostolic Christianity, and proving their identity with it by "receiving nothing in doctrine or ceremonies contrary to Scripture or to the Universal Christian Church," should be designated by the name



TRINITY LUTHERAN CHURCH, CANTON, OHIO.

of a man, and one at that whose great labors and services for the Church were rendered fifteen hundred years after its foundation. It seems to detract from her glory, if not to discredit her legitimacy, or in some quarters to impede her progress, as if her name

pointed to a human originator, or as if Luther were held in any other light than that of a mighty witness for the truth.

Just how much there is in a name may be gathered in part from the specious and lofty sounding titles appropriated by certain religious organizations whose errors, fanaticism and warfare upon the historic denominations allow them a very dubious claim to recognition as a part of the Christian Church. The most sectarian of the sects, the bigots who manifest a malicious hostility towards the great Christian communities that have for ages borne the indelible signature of God, the multiplying divisions of narrow zealots which form the greatest obstacle to the Church's mission, arrogate to themselves such names as "Church of God," "Disciples of Christ," "New Jerusalem," "Christians," etc., as if they constituted the veritable fold of the redeemed, while the most exclusive and intolerant of all sects persists in holding on to the glaring misnomer "Catholic."

It is not often that the representatives of a cause are allowed to select the name for it, especially not when such a cause is unpopular, and every new moral movement is unpopular. Even the felicitous and appropriate name of "Christians" came, no doubt, at first from their enemies and by way of reproach. "Methodists" was the expression of the prevailing contempt which was directed against the earnest ritualists and revivalists of the last century in England. And so the Lutherans are not responsible for the name which attaches to their Church. It was employed as a stigma by the malice of their enemies.

The term was first used by Eck, when he published the Bull against Luther. And afterwards all who followed Luther in accenting the doctrines of the Gospel and renouncing the supremacy of the Pope were in derision called "Lutherans." Even where they stood in remote connection with Luther's course or departed widely from his most pronounced views, wherever men turned away from priestly tutelage and mediation to the free salvation offered in the Scriptures, they were scorned and condemned as "Lutherans," just as in the previous century persons holding similar views were branded as "Wycliffites" or "Hussites." The reformers in England bore this title, so did those in Holland and in France, and even papistical Italy had its "Lutherans."⁴ The saving doctrine," says Melancthon, "the precious, Holy Gospel, they call Lutheran." Little wonder then that they should thus designate the Church he represented and guided.

What was originally meant as a designation of reproach becomes a title of glory. The despised "beggars" of Holland resolutely emblazoned this epithet upon their banners and taught their haughty oppressor that the "beggar" with God on his side is more than a match for the wealth and power of Spain. The Methodists reared an enduring monument from the reproaches heaped upon them in the early days of their movement. And though all who love the Church that bears his honored name join with Luther in disapproving of such a title, and protest against the significance which such a designation was meant to convey, as if Luther were in any sense either the object or lord of their faith, yet if its repudiation im-

plies the rejection of what Luther maintained, the way of salvation he proclaimed, the Scriptures he defended, then will we glory in this word as indicating and illustrating the most beneficent and far-reaching advance that Christianity has witnessed since its first planting by the Apostles.

The name has, it may be, become a historic necessity. It must be tolerated "to avoid the misapprehension and confusion which would arise if it were laid aside." "We do not call ourselves Lutherans," says Gerhard, "but are so styled by our enemies, and we permit it as a token of our consent with the pure teaching of the Word which Luther set forth. We suffer ourselves to bear his name, not as one who has invented a new faith, but of one who has restored the old, and purified the Church." Luther had manifestly received a mission from God to lead back the Church into God's Word and to cleanse it from its gross defilements and deformities. If this great work and the purified and reformed Church which crowns and perpetuates it, happen, by the logic of events, to be called Lutheran, so be it, we are ashamed neither of God's truth nor of his servant. But this in no sense implies that this Church rests her faith on Luther's authority.

"She has been known," says Dr. Krauth, "by various titles, but her own earliest and strongest preference was for the name EVANGELICAL, and many of her most devoted sons have insisted on giving her this title without any addition. No title could more strongly express her character, for pre-eminently is her system one which announces the glad tidings of

salvation, which excites a joyous trust in Christ as a Savior, which makes the Word and Sacraments bearers of saving grace. In no system is Christ so much as in the Lutheran; none exalts so much the glory of his person, of his office, and of his work.

* * * The name Evangelical is now given, out of the bounds of the Lutheran Church, to the Christianity of the heart everywhere, to all that makes much of Christ in the right way. Our Church to which it belongs in the great historic sense, has a claim in her actual life, second to none, to wear it. She is the Evangelical Church."

In another connection the same author maintains: "Our Church is Reformed as against all corruptions; Protestant as against the assertion of all false principles in Christian faith, life and church government; Evangelical as against legalism and rationalism, against all restricted atonement and arbitrary limitation of God's love; and through a historical necessity, created not by herself but by her enemies, she is Lutheran, over against all perversions, mutilations, and misunderstandings of the Word under whatever name they may come, though that name be Reformed, Protestant, Evangelical, Catholic or Christian."

It was a common distinction during the Reformation, to speak of the Catholic and the Evangelical doctrine, and historians frequently retain this distinction. All careful writers among Lutheran divines, let it be noted, invariably employ the historic title of the "Evangelical Lutheran Church."

Martin Luther holds, by universal recognition, the position of the hero of the Reformation. A never-to-

be-forgotten testimony to this fact was witnessed by the universal and enthusiastic commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of his birth, by the Protestant world. The great revolution was, under God, made conspicuously dependent upon his personal action, and he rises incomparably above all the reformers of that or any other era, sustaining a responsibility such as never before rested upon any other man, and achieving triumphs absolutely without a parallel. Yet the briefest sketch of the Lutheran Church would be glaringly incomplete without some allusion to the noble company of his coadjutors, a circle of men whose attainments, character and service would have rendered them illustrious at any time and on any stage, and whose contributions to the results of the Reformation are not obscured but lighted up by the close and cordial relation they sustained to their peerless leader.

Foremost in this galaxy stands Philip Melancthon, the inseparable companion, the noble complement of the great Reformer, a man small of stature but of gigantic intellect, a child in simplicity and sweetness of temper, but a master in theology. Learning was his passion and he was proficient in the wisdom of Homer, of Plato, of Cicero and of Pliny. His brilliant lectures in the university were attended by fifteen hundred to two thousand students and he was named the Preceptor of Germany. Yet with all his literary attainments he bowed with the docility of childhood to the Divine Word and was himself so penetrated with the savor of Christ that the sweet aroma exhaled from all his writings. The amiability and refinement of his na-

ture are reflected in all his theological productions, which are marked with a grace and a perspicuity which charm all readers and which attest the truth of his own belief that retirement and silence furnish the best opportunities for the illuminating action of the Holy Spirit. From him we have the first Protestant work on Systematic Theology, the *Loci*, and it was his hand that penned the immortal *Agustana*, the pioneer and the paragon of Protestant confessions. Never did two hearts beat in fuller unison than those of these two great men, the marked diversity in their constitution harmonized into a perfect unity.

No one of his contemporaries or successors could be so capable as was Luther himself of appreciating the character and the merits of his accomplished lieutenant and invaluable supporter. He estimated him as an indispensable factor of the Reformation, and he repeatedly thanked God for the gift of Melancthon, and on the occasion of his extreme and desperate illness he offered for him the boldest and most memorable prayer to be found in uninspired records. "Melancthon is a wonder," says Luther: "All men confess it. He is the most formidable enemy of Satan and the schoolmen, for he knows their foolishness and Christ the rock. The little Grecian surpasses me even in divinity; he will be as serviceable to you as many Luthers." "I prefer," said he on another occasion, "Melancthon's books to my own and would rather have them circulated than mine. I was born to battle with conspirators and devils, therefore my books are more vehement and warlike. It is my work to tear up the stumps and dead roots, to

clear away the briars, to fill up the marshes and pools. I am the rough woodman who has to prepare the way and smooth the road. But Philip advances quietly and softly; he tills and plants the ground; sows and waters it joyfully, according to the gifts that God has given him with so liberal a hand."

During the long contest few men stood so near to Luther as Nicholas Amsdorf, a man of illustrious birth, of a sturdy personality, of an ardent, impetuous temper, blended with a sincerity of mind, piety, straightforwardness and courage that rendered him infinitely dear to the Reformer.

The two mutually understood and loved each other from the time they became colleagues in the University of Wittenberg, some years before the outbreak of the Reformation. Amsdorf was one of the first to fall in line with the Reformer when he took his decisive stand, possessing then already clear convictions concerning salvation through the unmerited, gratuitous mercy of God, a heart aflame with love for the truth and a firm faith in its invincible character and perpetuity. It cost him comparatively little hesitation to break absolutely with the Pope, and Rome knew in reality no more decided or incisive opponent than the man whom friend and foe called "a second Luther."

The Reformer gratefully recognized in him as he did in Melancthon a special gift of Providence for the crisis. He regarded him as a born theologian and reposed such boundless confidence in his character and his opinions that he readily devolved on him the responsibility of representing him on important pub-

lic occasions, knowing with what blows he would smite the papacy. In the event which seemed often imminent, of himself being cut off, he reckoned Amsdorf among the faithful number of those who would successfully maintain the contest with the enemies of the gospel. Luther calls him "my special friend," and it may be questioned whether any of his co-workers shared his confidence so unqualifiedly.

The fact that with his independence of spirit and bluntness of speech he did not hesitate to administer reproof even to Luther himself when it was required, may have contributed momentum to the Reformer's exalted estimation of this man. He was Luther's companion to the Diet at Worms, never leaving his side during that terrible ordeal. He was his confidant in regard to the latter's capture and exile, and was the preacher whom Luther desired to supply his Wittenberg pulpit during the period of his absence. The sphere of his reformatory labors was for a long time the free and tumultuous city of Magdeburg. His services were, however, in demand in various quarters of Germany, but he deferred to Luther's judgment and remained at that post, while offers of promotion to very lucrative positions under the hierarchy he peremptorily spurned as incompatible with his conscience.

The most influential co-laborer in the development and spread of the Lutheran Reformation was, next to Melancthon, undoubtedly Johann Bugenhagen, another of those wonderfully constituted characters whom natural endowments and providential training had prepared for co-operation in the great work.

He sprang from a senatorial family, and was commonly named the Pommern, after his native country, Pomerania.

From early childhood he was acquainted with the Scriptures but, held under the spell which the legalism and Pharisaism of Rome had cast over the Church, he, like many of his day whose hearts were groaning for the salvation of the gospel, was kept in darkness until he heard Luther's proclamation of the grace of God received through faith alone. He is described as a charming and imposing personality, blending in his character the virtues of gentleness and firmness. By his knowledge of men and an extensive experience in various positions of responsibility, he had gained clear conceptions of the circumstances and real needs of the people, and by his humanistic education and his long career as a teacher he had become such a master of philology as to afford the most valuable assistance in the translation of the Scriptures. Fleeing from the persecution of the Catholics he took refuge at Wittenberg, immediately won the confidence and esteem of Luther and Melancthon, and was constrained to join the corps of professors at the University. On seeing his exposition of the Psalms which he delivered shortly after, Luther enthusiastically pronounced him the first man on earth who deserved to be called an expositor of the Psalms. Declining the most inviting and splendid ecclesiastical positions to which he was called from time to time, he took a self-denying, energetic and most important part in all the varied activities rendered necessary for the reformation of the Church.



ST. PAUL'S GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH, CHICAGO, ILL.

W. H. U.

But his peculiar and pre-eminent qualification for the Reformation lay in the sphere of administration. He was the Reformer who knew how to give the new evangelical life in the Church an organic body, to reconstruct the outward constitutional form in accordance with the newly won principles. He has been properly called "The Pastor" of the Reformation. In England he would have been called "The Bishop." For thirty-six years he stood at the head of the Wittenberg Parish, and was during a portion of this period also General Superintendent of the Electorate.

But his organizing faculty, so rare among a people who had for ages been deprived of all share in the government of the Church, was everywhere in demand, and, obtaining leave of absence, he effected the organization of the Evangelical Church in Brunswick, in Hamburg, Luebeck, and in his native Pomerania. He also gave its constitution to the Church of Denmark, and with such admirable results that he is to this day claimed by the Danes as the Reformer of that country. On him devolved the honor of delivering the funeral sermon of Luther, but his emotion rendered it often impossible to proceed, while yet he comforted himself and the great throng of his hearers that the doctrine of this precious man continued and would abide forever.

One of the most faithful, zealous and worthy associates of Luther in bringing a new spiritual life into the Church was Justus Jonas. He had, at an early period in his career, been recognized by Erasmus as "a vessel chosen of God to glorify his Son Jesus Christ."

He first met Luther as the latter was nearing Erfurt on his famous journey to Worms, and exacted his permission to accompany him to that den of lions. From that time on till he watched over the death struggle of the Reformer at Eisleben, the most intimate relation and co-operation bound the two souls together.

Jonas had for awhile followed the profession of law and his experience as a jurist served him often in good turn in the varied contests and negotiations that form so large a part of Reformation history. His regular official labors at Wittenberg were divided between preaching and teaching theology, but like his companions he was indefatigably occupied amid the stirring scenes and countless problems of the hour, and on each momentous public occasion, at Worms, at Marburg, at Augsburg and, in 1538, at the Frankfort Conference, Justus Jonas forms one of the heroes of the imposing drama.

He rendered valuable services in the translation of the Bible, and also translated a number of the most important writings of Luther and Melancthon from the Latin into German, and others from the German into Latin. But his pre-eminent gift was that of eloquence "in speech and in writing." He was the orator of the Reformation. "No preacher ever surpassed him in the power of captivating his hearers." "Pomeranus is a critic," said Melancthon; "I am a dialectician, Jonas is an orator, from whose lips flow words of wonderful beauty and an eloquence full of power."

A historian exclaims: "Divine Providence gathered around Luther men who were destined to be the light

of Germany, Melancthon, Amsdorf, Bugenhagen and Jonas." But a host of worthies are entitled in almost equal measure with those spoken of, to rank among the conspicuous gifts of Providence for the development and maintenance of Luther's work. What cause ever had, since the days of the Apostles, such sturdy, stalwart, self-denying partisans?

It is to be seriously regretted that space fails here to speak of Spalatin, the pious scholar, the trusty, sapient adviser of three Saxon electors, the intimate friend of Luther and his immediate colleagues, the courtier who, in his close relation to the sovereign, and especially as the inter-mediary between Luther and the elector Frederick, was able to exert an incalculable influence upon the Reformation, whose principles he shared with his whole heart.

Of Myconius, the Reformer of Thuringia, the historian of the Reformation, who had implored Tetzel to grant him an Indulgence gratis, and who having like Luther, agonized for years in the struggle for justification by means of penances and mortifications, fell at last into despair over his salvation. From this he was delivered by the proclamation of grace in the ninety-five theses, and afterwards, often at the peril of his life, he consecrated far and near all his powers to the service of the Reformation. As theologian he accompanied the embassy of the Elector to Henry VIII, in 1538, for the furtherance of the Reformation in England. He is always spoken of as "Luther's friend."

Of Cruciger, one of the mildest and purest characters that adorned the Evangelical revolution, who

was won to it "quietly" at the Leipsic Disputation. He was held in such esteem by Luther that the latter had at one time fixed upon him as his successor in the event of his decease. His knowledge of medicine and of the natural sciences, as well as of He-



LUTHERAN HOSPITAL, JACKSONVILLE, ILL.

brew, proved of great service in the translation of the Bible.

Of Brenz, the reformer of Wurtemberg, distinguished equally as an author, an organizer, an administrator, and a confessor who suffered for Lutheran convictions. Of Osiander, Agricola, and Blaurer; of Frederick the Wise, John Frederick the Magnanimous, John the Constant, Ernest of Luneberg, Margrave George of Brandenburg, Wolfgang, Prince of Anhalt, Gustavus Vasa, and other great potentates, men who counted not their lives dear, men who placed

their persons and property, their country and their all in jeopardy for the Gospel, men so deeply penetrated by evangelical truth and so confident of its triumph, that they rivalled the theologians and the preachers in their zeal for its unhindered proclamation among the people and for the renovation of the Church.

On Melancthon objecting to his Elector signing the Augsburg Confession lest it would involve him in danger: "God forbid," he replied, "that I should be excluded. I am resolved to do my duty without being troubled about my crown. I desire to confess the Lord. My Electoral hat and robes are not so precious to me as the Cross of Jesus Christ." Another prince voicing his deep convictions declared: "If the honor of my Lord Jesus requires it, I am ready to leave my goods and life behind me." "Rather would I renounce my subjects and my states," exclaimed the prince of Anhalt, "rather would I quit the country of my fathers, staff in hand; rather would I gain my bread by cleaning the shoes of foreigners, than to receive any other doctrine than that which is contained in the Confession." This is the language, not of theologians, not of preachers educated and trained, who had made a special or professional study of the sacred science, but of political lords, of great men of the world, of princes and laymen, who felt that every precious interest was involved in the restoration of the pure gospel.

The part enacted by the laity in the Reformation would, indeed, make a large and telling volume, accenting, as it would, the fact that this movement was

largely a revolt against the clerical order, a renunciation of all priestly usurpations, and a return to the simple constitution of the primitive church, which knows of no essential distinction between clergy and laity, but embraces all men in a Christian brotherhood. And, excepting a few prominent leaders, who like Luther had, under the old regime, taken orders, the Reformation may justly be said to owe its success mainly to an aroused, intelligent, and consecrated laity. Luther, it is well-known, taught at an early stage that even Christian women, and every one who has been baptized, were, in truth, as much priests as the pope, bishops and priests of the hierarchy, and that men are "to put no faith in any other oracle than the Holy Scriptures."

CHAPTER IV.

THE EARLIEST LUTHERANS IN AMERICA—THE DUTCH.

TO the devout historian it was a notable coincidence that just at the time that Martin Luther was born into the world, Christopher Columbus was seized with the conviction that Heaven had commissioned him to discover a new world, and to find a new domain for the Christian Church. It devolved upon him, he believed in his heart, to plant the standard of the cross upon shores, concerning whose existence men had then as little knowledge as they had of the possibility of a Church of Christ outside the barriers of the Roman hierarchy. It was in 1483, the year of Luther's birth, that the discoverer of America found for the first time an opportunity of laying his daring and visionary enterprise before a European court. And nine years later, while Luther was being taught in the schools of Mansfeldt the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and was often unmercifully beaten by the schoolmaster, Christopher Columbus, after breaking the silence of ages over the trackless waters, offers the first Christian worship in this western world, falling upon his knees, and with tears of joy, giving thanks to God, kissing the new earth which He had given him, and consecrating it to His glory by naming the first islands discovered San Salvador and Santa Trinidata.

And just as all Europe is quaking from the commotion which the revived faith of the Gospel had pro-

duced, Cortez is marching his little band of heroic Spaniards into the gates of Mexico, overthrowing the most powerful tribes of the Aborigines, and opening the way for the conquest of the New World by the Missionaries of the Cross.

But heaven could not consent that the debased type of Christianity, which was represented by the bigoted and cruel Spaniards, and which was about to be overwhelmed in Europe by the outburst of a new life in the Church, should appropriate this virgin soil. This must be reserved for the spread and the sway of a purer faith. The inestimable treasures of truth, which had just been recovered from the debris of ages, were destined to find here a theater for their fullest expansion and for the unfolding of their noblest products. What a miscarriage of history it would have been, had a system, staggering under the fatal blows of the manifest hand of Providence, seized at the very crisis a new continent for its baleful triumphs. God never meant America to become Roman Catholic. This land was to be the home of the free. That power which has always been the enemy of freedom was not to acquire here an opportunity for strangling the genius of liberty when it took refuge in this western world.

The gospel, in the glorious revelation it makes of the dignity of the human soul and the equality and brotherhood of all men, is the mighty liberator, and here it was foreordained to have a sphere, untrammelled by chains or bars, for creating a nation of freemen. It is from these shores that liberty is destined to enlighten the world. Roman Catholic gov-

ernments, with their maritime ascendancy at the time, might serve as agents in the discovery and exploration of this vast continent, they might open the way across the sea for the grand march of colonization and immigration, but the establishment of institutions must be left to the hands of men who had learned in the school of Luther, who had imbibed the doctrines of the Reformation, and who knew to lay the foundations of a republic in which the freedom of conscience and the rights of the individual should be forever secure. An insolent and infamous Pope, Alexander VI., by a solemn decree gave, indeed, the whole New World to Spain, but one greater than the Pope gave it to a people who along with Luther had renounced all papal authority. Alexander's infallibility must, about this time, have been nodding.

It is certainly noteworthy that while for a period of more than a hundred years after the discovery of this continent, the Roman Catholics of Spain and France and Portugal were planting their settlements and missionary stations over a vast area, extending from Florida to California, they were not permitted by Providence to lay the foundation on which the permanent institutions of a mighty Empire were to be erected. Their ideas and principles so far from leaving a permanent impress upon this country, contributed so little to the formation of its government that even the existence of these settlements is unknown except to the student of history.

Speaking of the Spaniards Bryant, in his history remarks: "Fortunately for the progress of the human

race and the future history of North America, all their efforts to gain a permanent foothold north of the Gulf of Mexico were in the main unsuccessful." And another eminent American historian, Dr. Dorchester, observes: "While thirst for gold, lust of power and love of daring adventure served the providential purpose of opening the New World to papal Europe, and Roman Catholic colonies were successfully planted in some portions, the territory originally comprised within the United States was mysteriously guarded and reserved for another—a prepared people,"—a people brought forth in the pangs of the Reformation, possessed of new ideas and loftier aims and intended by Providence to found in the New World a great Christian Republic, one of the mightiest agencies in human progress.

While the first Protestant colonists owed their religious faith and their convictions of civil polity to the Lutheran Reformation, the true adherents of the Lutheran Church could not, in the nature of things, take the leading part in the early settlement of this country. England and the Netherlands, and in some measure Sweden, were in the seventeenth century the only maritime nations among the Protestants of Europe, the only powers, accordingly, that were prepared to establish colonies beyond the sea. "The Reformation," says Bancroft, "followed by collisions between English Dissenters and the Anglican Hierarchy colonized New England. The Reformation emancipating the United Provinces, led to European settlements on the Hudson."

But although debarred through lack of commercial

equipments from having the ascendancy in the original colonization of America, it was in accordance with the fitness of things that Lutherans should form an element in some of the earliest Protestant settlements. Providence has in many instances employed them as the leaven where others held the more conspicuous place of the loaf. Their scriptural faith, their intelligence, their industry, thrift and sturdy moral principles constitute, it is well known, invaluable factors in a liberal and prosperous state, and it may be attributed to Providence that the earliest settlement of Lutherans in this land is almost coincident with its permanent settlement.

The first representatives of the Lutheran Church in this country came notably, not from Germany, the home of Lutheranism, but from Holland, the land which during the Reformation furnished the first martyrs for the evangelical faith, an event which called forth Luther's well-known hymn "Ein neues Lied wir heben an," said to have been his earliest hymnological composition. Although the Reformation assumed there at an early period an extreme Calvinistic type, prosperous congregations of Lutherans maintained themselves in different parts of the country, the strongest of them being the Church at Amsterdam which afterward became "the foster-mother of the Dutch Lutheran congregations in New York and New Jersey." There is no evidence of their suffering persecution from the State Church prior to the rise of the Arminian party. From that time on, although they had no sympathy with Arminian doctrines, yet as they had along with their

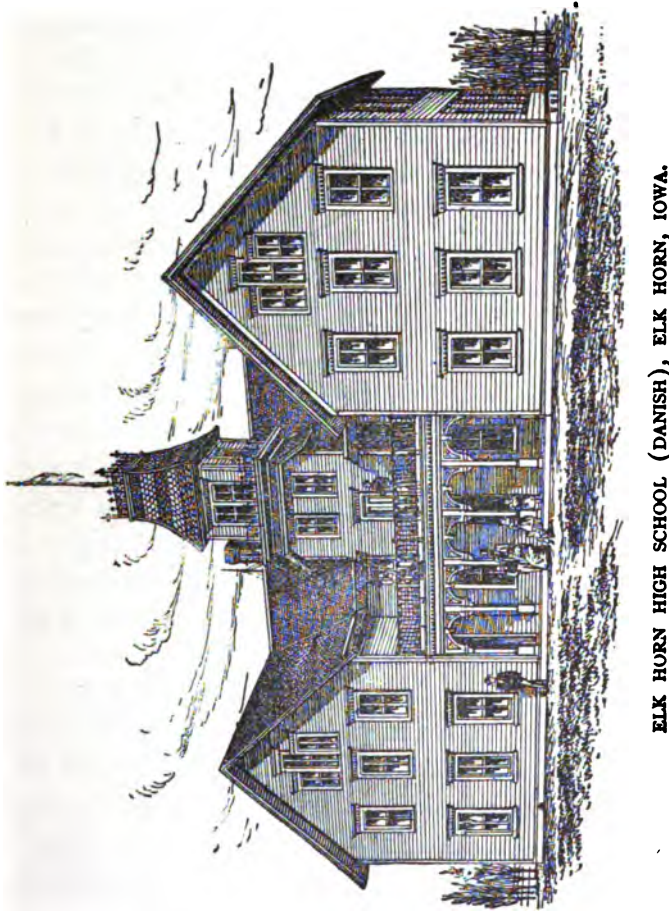
brethren in other lands always stoutly repudiated the extreme tenets of Calvinism, they became involved in the bitter and relentless persecution of the Arminians which followed the Synod of Dort in 1618. Intolerance did not stop to make any distinctions among the opponents of rigorous Calvinism, and Lutherans fell a prey to the same religious fury which beheaded a Barneveldt and imprisoned a Grotius.

To what extent their sufferings for conscience' sake had a part in leading them to embark with others of their countrymen for the New World is not known, neither have we any evidence of opposition being offered to their coming. It seems quite probable that the religious oppressions as well as the political commotions which held sway in their native land, prompted them to go beyond the seas in quest of peace and worldly prosperity, if not primarily for the sake of religious freedom. Some of them appear, at all events, to have come with the first Dutch colony which in 1623 occupied Manhattan Island, the territory now comprised in the city of New York.

The prospect of commercial advantages had led the Holland West India Company to found this colony, and but little concern was consequently manifested for the religious interests of the settlers. At least five years elapsed before the first minister of the Reformed Church, Jonas Michaelius, came over and assumed pastoral care at New Amsterdam.

How early the Lutheran settlers took steps to organize a congregation or to celebrate worship according to the order of their Church, cannot be clearly determined, but when they moved to have the service

of their own precious faith they at once encountered strong and persistent opposition from the Reformed, who represented the State Church of the fatherland.



And the first picture of Lutherans in America is that of a noble band suffering persecution. Lutherans in the Netherlands having been the first Protestants to

obtain the crown of martyrdom, Lutherans from the same country were now destined to be the first Protestants in America to have the honor of suffering solely for their religious opinions. For although the English Calvinists in Massachusetts were engaged in whipping and hanging Quakers and banishing Baptists at the same time that the Dutch Calvinists were fining and imprisoning Lutherans on the Hudson, it is pretty clearly established now that Roger Williams, Ann Hutchinson, and the Quakers generally, who were so obnoxious to the Puritans, were not made to suffer for their religious views so much as for their disturbance of civil order, their menace to the peace and stability of the colony, their dangerous political tenets and their wanton defiance of the constituted civil authority. The Lutherans, on the other hand, never in all history employed their religious teachings for the subversion of government. They never figured as political agitators, and the little band on Manhattan Island sought only the enjoyment of their spiritual rights under their own vine and fig-tree.

The first distinct mention of the Lutherans at New Amsterdam is from the pen of the Jesuit Missionary, Jogues, whom the Dutch had rescued from captivity among the Iroquois, and who spent the time from August, 1642, to November, 1643, in the colony. He says: "No religion is publicly exercised but the Calvinist, and orders are to admit none but Calvinists, but this is not observed, for there are beside Calvinists, in the colony, English Puritans, Lutherans, Anabaptists, here called Minists" (Mennonites).

The opposition to Lutheran worship appears to have been for awhile not so inexorable as to drive them from the colony or to prevent their assembling in private dwellings where religious services after the Lutheran form were conducted by one of their number. The little band in the wilderness, without bishop or priest, formed with God's Word a true Church of Christ. They had a bitter grievance in connection with the baptism of their children. This sacrament had to be administered by the Reformed pastor who required of sponsors a profession of faith which to a Lutheran conscience must have been, to say the least, unsatisfactory and compromising.

The settlement of Rev. John Megapolensis as pastor of the Reformed Church of New Amsterdam, in 1649, was the signal of more rigorous measures against the Lutherans and all non-conformists. The congregation considered itself capable of maintaining a pastor and desired to call one from Holland, formally petitioning Governor Stuyvesant for the privilege of worshipping publicly in a church by themselves. The resistance offered by the Reformed pastors against this petition was so strenuous, that the Governor, who was himself a zealous Calvinist, refused his permission "for the reason that he was bound by his oath to tolerate openly no other religion than the Reformed."

The Lutherans hereupon addressed themselves to the West India Company and to the Home Government. The Reformed Pastors made a counter-appeal to the Classis of Amsterdam, to which had been entrusted the office of supervision of ecclesiastical

affairs in America, urging the dangerous consequences of making such concessions to the Lutherans, and entreating them to prevent their being made. It would be a dangerous precedent.

The instructions which came from Holland in response to these appeals, were "that they would encourage no other doctrine in New Netherlands than the true Reformed." No violence, indeed, was sanctioned, but it was made incumbent on the Governor "to use all moderate exertions to allure the Lutherans to the Dutch Churches and to matriculate them in the Public Reformed religion." The tolerance granted them in the fatherland is to be denied in free America, and this document, bearing date February 26, 1654, expresses the hope that the Reformed Religion would now "be preserved and maintained without hinderance from the Lutherans and other errors."

The Lutherans have somehow always been considered a "hinderance" by their sister churches. They have always stood in their way. Their presence has been dreaded as a menace to sectarian ascendancy and an obstruction to sacerdotal power. Their popular worship, their evangelical doctrine, their childlike faith and spiritual freedom can never hope for a welcome among those who are still partial to the bonds of legalism and who look to works as well as to faith as a condition to salvation. Standing midway between the sensualizing ceremonials and dogmas of Rome and the pronounced subjectivity of the Reformed system, a position rendered impregnable by history as well as by the Scriptures, the Lutheran Church is no more likely to command favor with the

denominations of the Reformed type than with the papal communion. Happily she has vitality enough not to be dependent on this favor. Woe to her if she ever courts it at the expense of her principles.

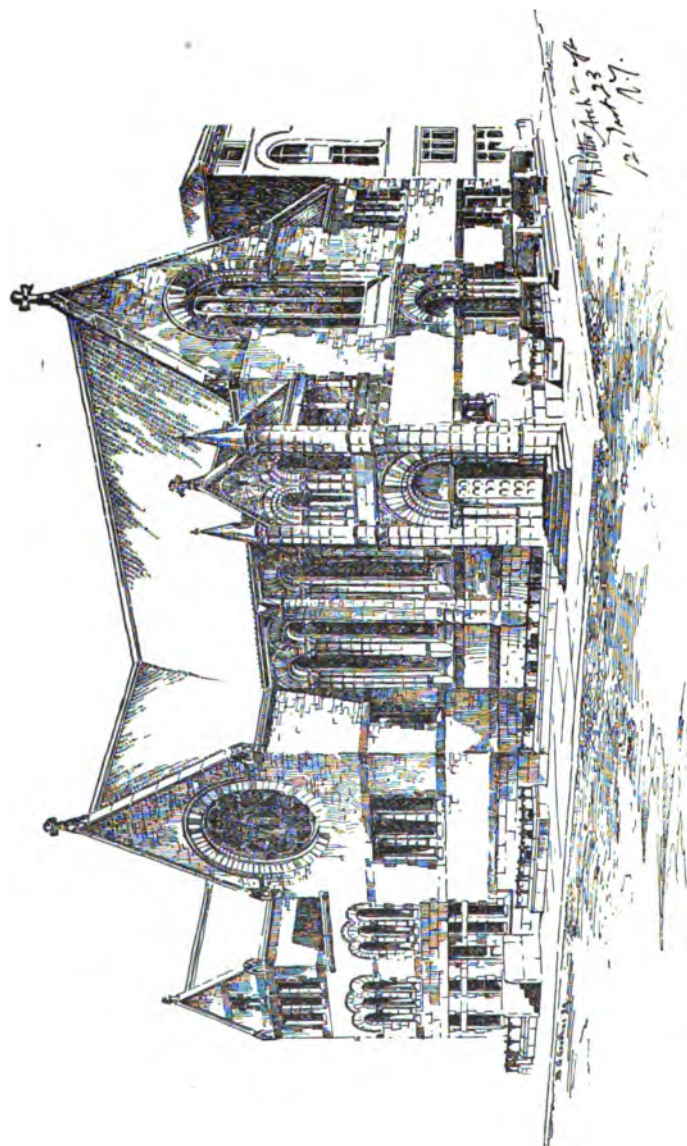
Sustained by the ecclesiastical authorities of the mother country the Calvinist Governor of New Amsterdam and his intolerant preachers now resolved on crushing out the Lutherans. Failing in the effort "to allure" them into the Dutch churches, and by this means to absorb them, as they had been instructed by the Directors, they resolved that resort must be had to penalties and imprisonments. Persecution must be tried where persuasion failed. Parents were henceforth required on presenting their children for baptism to profess their belief in the doctrines of the Synod of Dort, the most extreme deliverances ever put forth by Calvinism, and they must even promise to train up their children in the same—that is, to teach their offspring tenets which in their hearts they abhorred, knowing them to be contrary to the Gospel. Rome never did greater violence to the conscience, never showed stronger determination to force error into the minds of the unwilling. Resistance to these oppressive and sinful demands was followed by arrest, by fines, and in default of payment the recusants were thrown into prison. They must by force be made to conform to Calvinism.

Steadfast in their convictions and with the courage of martyrs the Lutherans persisted in having their assemblies for worship, and as their numbers, in spite of their persecutions, were continually increasing and their spirit growing more resolute and defiant, the

wrath of the Reformed Pastors became more bitter and violent. They lodged complaint with the Governor against their "Conventicles," as meetings for worship not authorized by the government were then called. Such meetings, they claimed, were sure to breed disorder in Church and State, and they succeeded in having him issue a proclamation "for the promotion of the glory of God, the increase of the Reformed Religion," etc., forbidding the holding of conventicles not in harmony with the established religion, as set forth by the Synod of Dort. A fine of one hundred Flemish pounds was imposed for every violation of this ordinance by the preaching of a sermon, and twenty-five pounds on all persons guilty of meeting in private dwellings for the purpose of worshipping together. The penalty for preaching the Gospel was accordingly one hundred pounds, the penalty for hearing it twenty-five pounds. Lutheran services even in private houses were thus absolutely suppressed. Mennonites and Quakers shared with Lutherans the honors and the horrors of these persecutions, but the published placard at Albany (then Beverswycke), specifically singled out the Lutheran congregation there as the particular object of this prohibition of worship.

The Lutheran people were not dismayed, nor disposed to surrender their precious rights to worship God according to the faith of their Church. They now had recurrence to their brethren in Holland and sought especially their intervention with the authorities of the established Church, with the Directors of the West India Company and with the States General,

in regard to their grievances, entreating that there might be granted them, "the united members of the Church of the unaltered Augsburg Confession," the same tolerance and right of worship here which the Lutherans enjoyed in Holland, and that an ordained minister of their faith might be sent over "to instruct them and take care of their souls." A more favorable response was now vouchsafed. The "overprecise" and oppressive measures of Stuyvesant were rebuked, a more liberal policy was enjoined as being indeed indispensable to the promotion of emigration. The doctrine of the unaltered Augsburg Confession should have the same toleration in the New Netherlands which was accorded it in the fatherland and a pastor for them, it was promised, would arrive the following spring. After this these persecuted people certainly had reason to hope that they would no longer be denied the privileges of their religion, and in most humble terms they implored Stuyvesant to allow them at least the service of sacred reading and singing. But the Reformed pastors were only exasperated by the orders of the West India Company to adopt a milder and more Christian course of conduct. They were inexorable, and in defiance of these orders secured the continuance of oppressive measures and the further prohibition of conventicles until they could once more communicate with the home authorities. And they forthwith renewed their "importunities with their friends in the Classis of Amsterdam, to save them from so terrible an evil as the establishment of a Lutheran Church in the pious colony of New Netherlands."



ST. JAMES LUTHERAN (ENGLISH) CHURCH, COR. MADISON AVENUE AND 73RD STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

Notwithstanding the implacable and indefatigable opposition of the clerical bigots in New Amsterdam, and to their infinite chagrin and dismay, the long-suffering Lutherans had in June, 1657, the inexpressible joy of welcoming their promised pastor. It was the Rev. John Ernest Goetwater, who was the first Lutheran minister to visit the banks of the Hudson. He had been sent out by the Lutheran Consistory of Amsterdam to minister to their suffering brethren in the New Netherlands, two congregations having been by this time organized, one at New Amsterdam (New York), and one at Beverswycke (Albany).

The reception accorded by the civil and ecclesiastical authorities to this servant of Christ, coming into this vast wilderness on the sole peaceful mission of dispensing the Gospel to humble souls whose cry had gone across the sea, was infamous not to say inhuman, and, even for that day, without the shadow of an excuse or extenuation. And it is strange that while every popular history expatiates on the wrongs endured by the Quakers and Baptists of Massachusetts about this same time, so little reference is made to the more cruel, unrelenting and utterly indefensible persecutions inflicted upon the Lutherans on the Hudson. This anomaly may in a measure be accounted for by the quiet patience with which, according to the spirit of Christianity, they bore their sufferings, seeking redress with the general government rather than resorting to reckless agitation or revolution.

An impartial historian, O'Callaghan, gives the following account: "Religious excitement now took the place of political. * * * The Dutch clergymen

immediately informed the authorities. Dominie Goetwater was cited before them and forbidden to exercise his calling. Messrs. Megapolensis and Drisius demanded that he should be sent back to Holland in the same ship in which he had arrived. He was ordered to quit the province accordingly. Sickness, however, prevented his compliance with this harsh and unchristian mandate. He was therefore put 'on the limits of the city,' and finally forced to embark for Holland," which decree went into execution October 16, the Lutherans protesting in vain.

Though not allowed to conduct any public services, the presence of a pastor for several months among the distressed and desolate flock of Lutherans, must have in various ways proved a blessing to them. It is doubtful, as he was not allowed to exercise his calling, whether he could even baptize their children, as the law required these to be presented by their parents in the Reformed Church, and he was closely watched with the suspicion and fear bred of bigotry, yet he could not be prevented from visiting the people at their homes, holding domestic worship with them and in personal ministrations offering them the counsels and consolations of the Gospel. For even this boon the hearts of Lutheran confessors would feel unutterably grateful.

Their bitter persecutors were neither ashamed of their heartless procedure, nor content with the success of the efforts they had instigated to prevent the settlement of a Lutheran Pastor. An exulting report of it must be forwarded to the home authorities. In this they glory in their shame and gloat over the tri-

umph by which it was crowned at the hands of the provincial government. No Lutheran minister should be allowed to preach the faith of the Reformation within the limits of their jurisdiction, nor even by his presence to pollute this soil sacred to Calvinism. This report, dated August 6, 1657, is preserved in Volume III. of the "Documentary History of New York," pages 103-108, and is an interesting specimen of the malignant spirit of persecution. It is addressed to the Classis of Amsterdam, "fathers and brothers in Christ Jesus." It acknowledges their fatherly care "and the trouble taken by them to prevent the injuries which threaten this community from the encroachments of heretical spirits." "We being animated and cheered by your letters," it proceeds to state, "hoped for the best, though dreading the worst, which even now has arrived, to the especial discontent and disapprobation of the congregation of this place, yea of the whole land, even of the English." "We have already the snake in our bosom." They certainly had not warmed it. "We demanded also that the noble Lord's Regent should send the Lutheran minister back in the same ship in which he arrived * * * in order to put a stop to their work, which they seemed disposed to push forward with a hard Lutheran pate." To their credit be it recorded these malign zealots had some appreciation of the qualities of a Lutheran head, which may have been one cause of their consternation when a Lutheran minister set foot on Manhattan.

The Dutch West India Company, whatever may have been its previous concessions or promises to the

Lutherans, evidently approved of the expulsion of Pastor Goetwater, and absorbed as they were in commercial pursuits and caring little for the interests of religion, they now declined to allow them any other privileges beyond "permission for individuals to pray and read the scriptures,"—a slight improvement on Romish persecution—and the pastors of the Reformed were enjoined to so modify the baptismal formulary as to remove the greatest grievance complained of by the Lutherans, and to adopt in general a policy of moderation so that they might in time be "gained over." The real ground of hostility to the Lutherans was apparently the fact that they would not unite with the dominant Church, an objection to them that has possibly not yet lost its force in some communities. Warning was, however, also given to these overzealous pastors that "if their present course were persisted in, a separate Church must be allowed to the Lutherans."

The death blow must have fallen upon the Lutheran Church in New Netherlands, one would suppose, when their pastor immediately upon his arrival was forcibly driven from the country. But with an irrepressible faith and that "hard Lutheran pate" they maintained some form of an organization despite the severe disabilities and oppressions under which they labored. In November, 1660, we read that "the Lutherans were promoting a subscription for a clergyman of their own." A petition addressed to Governor Colden, in 1763, affirms that at the time New Amsterdam passed under English control, in 1664, "the Lutheran congregation was in organized exist-

ence and enjoyed the benefits of the terms of the compact made,"—a claim which was admitted by the Colonial authorities. They based upon this their right to a charter and perfect toleration, in accordance with the terms of capitulation made by the English with the Dutch governor, whereby all their religious privileges were guaranteed to the inhabitants of the province.

The Directors of the West India Company, realizing that the oppressive measures which had been employed were proving detrimental to the prosperity of the colony, resolved in April, 1663, on pursuing a more liberal and Christian policy. They administered a severe rebuke to Stuyvesant for the violence which had been offered to the consciences and rights of subjects in his colony and put an end once for all to persecution in New Netherland. About a year after the arrival of this decree, a British fleet appeared before New Amsterdam and the rule of the doughty Knickerbocker himself, as well as of persecution, came to a sudden termination.

It is the judgment of Dr. W. M. Reynolds that the Lutherans proceeded with the erection of a house of worship in 1663, immediately upon learning of the changed policy of the Directors, but Dr. B. M. Schmucker says: "The first proof I have found of any action connected with the erection of the first church is in June, 1671, when certain dissatisfied members were compelled to pay subscriptions made for that purpose." These subscriptions, it is more than likely had been made some years previous, the protracted delay quite naturally giving rise to dissatisfaction.

Whenever it was built, this first church stood, for some reason, "on ground without the gate of the city" and, of a piece with the singular succession of adversities which so long harrassed and tried the Lutheran Church in New York city, there came subsequently, during the brief restoration of the power of Holland, 1673-74, an order from Governor Colve that it must be torn down. The pretext offered for this destruction was that this building along with some others outside the wall interfered with the necessary defences of the place, and this plea would, perhaps, not be disputed, but for the inflexible hostility which the Reformed colonists had for half a century borne to their Lutheran brethren. The property so destroyed was to be valued by impartial persons, lots of equal value within the city were to be conveyed to the owners, and reimbursement allowed for the loss of buildings. Of the exact location of this first church no evidence is to be found.

Soon after the whole colony had passed into the hands of the English government, application was made by the Lutherans to Colonel Nicholls, the governor, for permission to call a minister of their Confession from Europe, which application was promptly granted "by an act under his hand and seal." The successor of Nicholls, Lord Lovelace, made subsequently public proclamation that James, the Duke of York, had communicated to him by letter his pleasure that the Lutherans should be tolerated, but added also "as long as his Royal Highness shall not order otherwise."

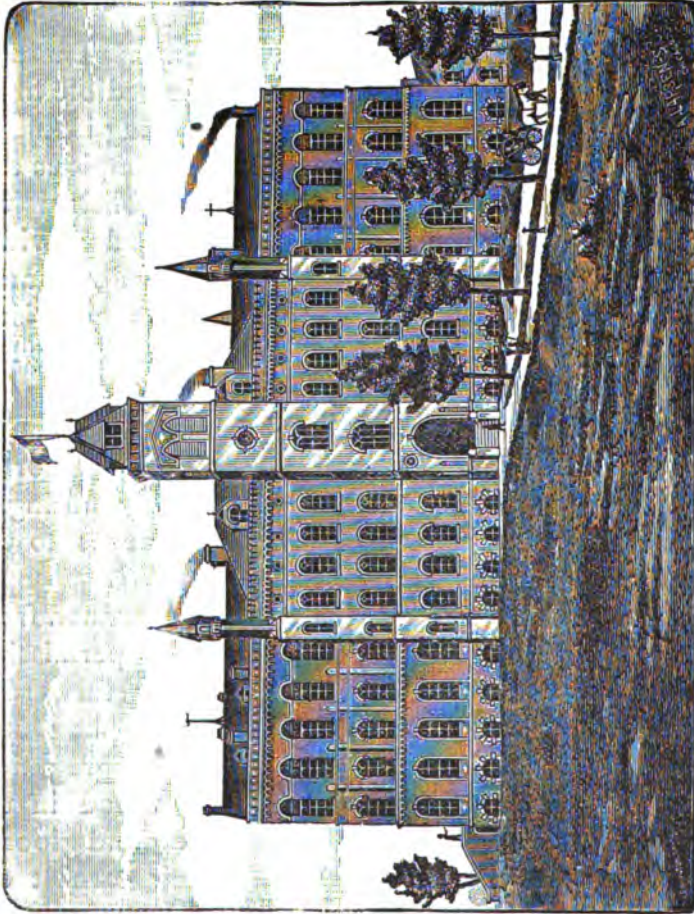
For some reason, unknown to us, a number of

Dutch Lutherans saw fit to withdraw from Manhattan Island, shortly after it passed under the government of the British, and they formed a settlement on James Island, southwest of the Ashley River, in South Carolina. They were at that time the only adherents of the Lutheran Church in the Carolinas. Their industry is said to have triumphed over incredible hardships, but of their spiritual progress nothing is known beyond their sturdy protest against the impious and impudent bigotry, which in 1704, established the Church of England in the two Carolinas and provided for its support from the public treasury. The shameless injustice of such legislation, when the Episcopalians had but a single church in the province, while the "Dissenters" had three in Charleston and one in the country, was resented by the people of other creeds, and they made common cause in endeavoring to obtain its repeal, the Lutherans bravely uniting in transmitting a statement of their grievances to the Lords-proprietors.

The Lutherans of New York, having obtained from the newly established English authorities permission to call a preacher of their faith, they forwarded their petition to the Classis of Amsterdam—the Dutch being still the dominant party in the congregation, though Lutherans from other countries had in the meantime united with it,—but four long and gloomy years were yet to pass by before their earnest entreaties for a shepherd were granted.

And when, at last, in 1668, more than forty years after the first Lutherans had settled in New York, and ten years after the banishment of Rev. Goetwater, they

were to see their petitions granted and their hopes realized, they alas! found the fruit of all their efforts to be like the apples of Sodom, a most grievous



LUTHER COLLEGE (NORWEGIAN), DECORAH, IOWA. DESTROYED BY FIRE MAY 19, 1889.

disappointment. A more unhappy selection could scarcely have been made for them. The Lutheran Consistory must have been ignorant not only of the

peculiar requirements of the situation in this New World, but they must have been totally unacquainted with the character of the man whom they commissioned. It would have been a sad day for the the early Christian Church, if the congregation at Antioch had made a similar mistake when they sent forth Barnabas and Saul on the mission to the Gentiles. The man's name was Jacob Fabricius. He was a sorry excuse for the spiritual head of a congregation that had languished so long without pastoral oversight, and had suffered so much from adversity and persecution. He proved to be utterly unadapted to the position.

He had received university training and was a man of uncommon talents and eloquent as a preacher. But he was of a haughty and violent temper, had neither tact nor prudence, and, saddest of all, was a victim of intemperance.

At Albany, where, as well as in New York, Governor Lovelace had given him permission to exercise his office, he became seriously involved with the civil authorities and also with his congregation. Refusing to sanction civil marriage, which was at that time the law of the province, he proceeded, whether from conscience or from covetousness, to impose a fine of one thousand rix dollars upon one of his members whose marriage had been solemnized by a civil official. The party complaining to the governor, the latter suspended the arbitrary preacher from his functions in Albany for one year, allowing him still to continue his ministrations in New York, though in

the course of another year he was there also authorized to preach his farewell sermon.

The work of erecting a church building in the latter place, which had been inaugurated prior to his coming, received at first, naturally, quite an impetus from his presence, but he soon became an element of discord in the congregation and his offensive, domineering, behavior threw everything into confusion. The people became so much dissatisfied that they not only refused to contribute to his support but they even declined to pay their subscriptions to the building of the church. The civil authorities had to be invoked and it was ordered by the magistrates, that the subscriptions made for the church building and those for the salary of the pastor should be paid "up to the time of their late public disagreement." Compliance with this order was of course inevitable, but shortly afterward certain members of the church, doubtless its trustees or office bearers, petitioned the governor to have their accounts settled, adding that they wished to have nothing more to do with the pastor Fabricius. His brief and most unfortunate pastorate came to an abrupt close on August 11, 1671.

Surely God must have watched over this straitened and struggling little band holding to the faith of the Augsburg Confession, or the infant would certainly have been strangled in its cradle. Cast down but not in despair the congregation proceeded to petition for a new pastor, and to their heartfelt joy they were in a short period permitted to greet him welcome. His name was Rev. Bernardus Antonius Arensius. He is described as "a gentle personage, and of

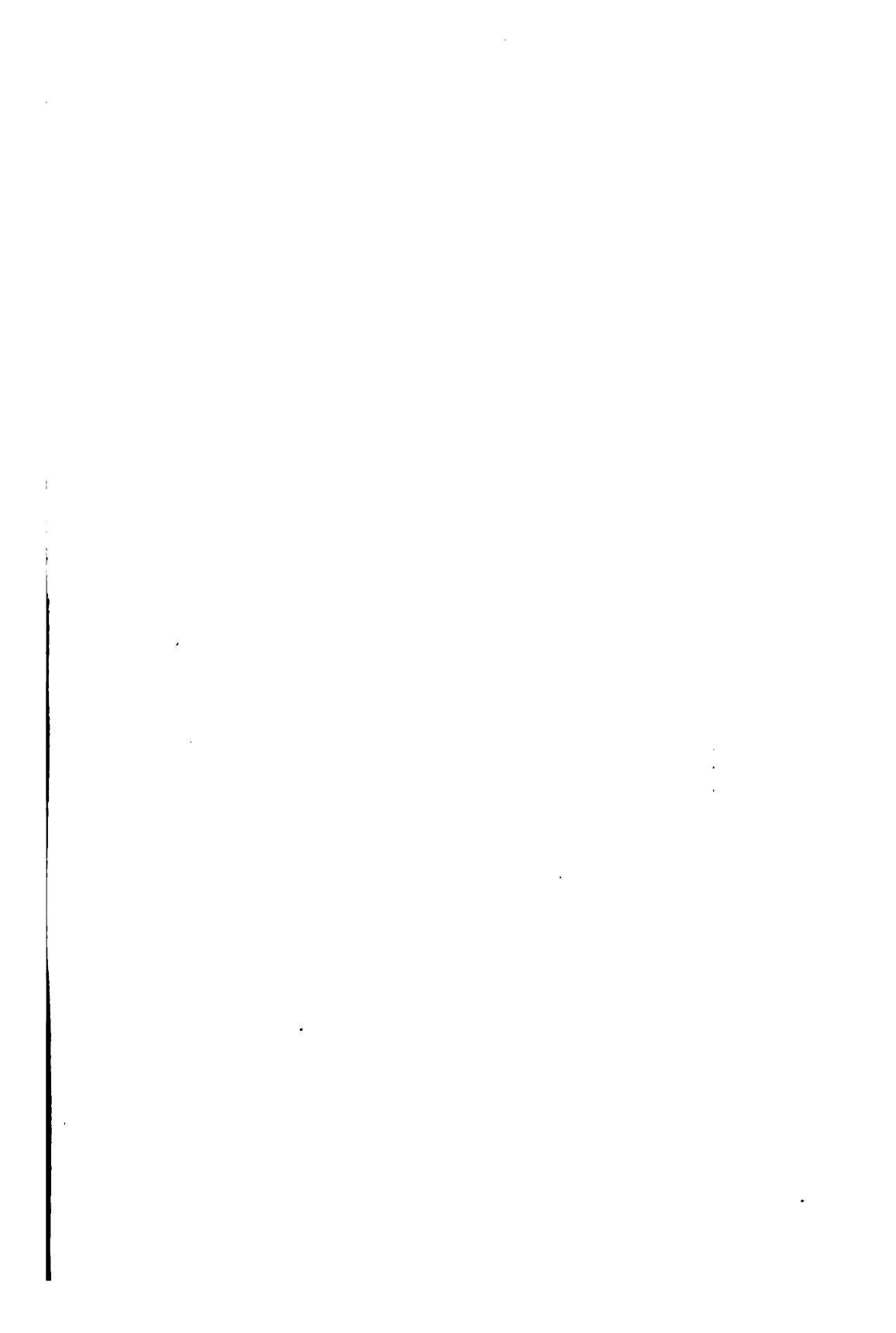
a very agreeable behavior," the exact reverse of his predecessor. It is not known by whose authority he was sent across, nor is the date of his arrival settled, but as the same order of Governor Lovelace which granted permission to Fabricius to preach his farewell sermon empowered him also "to instal the new-come minister, according to the custom used by those of their religion," he must presumably have arrived shortly before that date.

He served the congregation at Albany as well as the one in New York. But his career was of that peaceable, noiseless tenor which seldom attracts the attention of the historian, and hence but few notices of this servant of God appear in the contemporary records. Governor Dongan's report of the state of the province, April 13, 1687, mentions a Dutch Lutheran among the ministers then living in New York, and the editor of the Historical Documents, III., page 415, speaks in a note of Rev. Bernardus Arensius who "succeeded Dominie Fabricius and was minister of the Church in 1688."

What the membership of his two congregations numbered is nowhere reported, but from a letter dated September 28, 1715, and written by one of his successors, Rev. Justus Falckner, we learn that at that time four small congregations existed in the province of New York, "and all these four consist in all of about one hundred constant communicants, besides strangers going and coming in the city of New York." The second church was erected in 1684, on the corner of Broadway and Rector Street, on the lot which had been allotted for this purpose by Governor Colve, in

lieu of the one on which the first Church had stood without the wall.

How long Pastor Arensius continued to live and minister to these congregations has not, up to this time, been ascertained, but as there is no trace of the presence of any other Lutheran minister in the province prior to the year 1700, it is probable that he continued until about the close of the century. He was succeeded for a short period by the Rev. Andrew Rudman, Provost of the Swedish Churches on the Delaware, but this calls our attention to a settlement of Lutherans in another section, who came from a different country, and whose early history is irradiated with brighter scenes than those through which the devoted band in New York was called to pass.





GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS.

CHAPTER V.

THE EARLIEST LUTHERANS IN AMERICA—THE SWEDES.

IN the seventeenth century the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon this continent. Its rulers, in particular, cast longing glances toward these shores as offering extraordinary openings for colonial enterprise and commercial interests. None of them had a clearer and fuller appreciation of this prospect than the illustrious hero and martyr of Lutheranism, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, whose hardy and adventurous kinsmen were the first to discover America five hundred years in advance of the Spanish and English navigators, and whose subjects could still rove the seas. The intuitions of his far-seeing and comprehensive genius, one of the foremost of his time, were quick to recognize the advantages offered here by climate, soil and other natural resources for the establishment of colonies, and promptly devised and developed a scheme, which contemplated an extensive emigration from the different countries of Europe.

The primary consideration which moved the royal heart to this broad and bold undertaking, was the planting of the Christian religion among the wild inhabitants of the country. While it was proposed, as with prophetic eye, to provide an asylum for the defenseless of every land, and particularly to promote the common interests of the Protestant world; while the commercial interests of his subjects and the extension of his power were elements inherent in the pur-

pose of the king, the movement was inspired by Christian zeal and Christian humanity.

Preparations on a wide scale for carrying out this project were at once set on foot. All classes—the royal family, the nobles, the military chieftains, the clergy, and the people generally, caught the enthusiasm. The Estates in the year 1627 gave their approval to the measure and perfected its plans; an admiral with a number of officials and a body of soldiers was charged with the execution of the enterprise.

Just at this juncture the genius and devotion of Gustavus were imperatively demanded on another stage. The very life of that Protestantism, which was so dear to his heart, was in danger on the continent, and the peaceful purpose of Christianizing America had to be suspended, in order to save evangelical Christianity in its home. The Thirty Years' War was raging, and the great Lutheran King, constrained by sympathy for his suffering brethren and zeal for the faith of Luther, carried his legions across the Baltic, stayed the tide of Catholic victory, and by pouring out his life's blood on the field of Lützen in 1632 became the savior of Germany, and preserved the fruits of the Reformation to posterity.

The American project had taken such hold of the Swedes, that although the original undertaking had to be foregone, it was one of those conceptions which do not die with their author. In fact, amid the fury and storm of the terrible war in which he was engaged, the king, himself, never abandoned or forgot his purpose. Only a few days before that glorious victory at Lützen

he recommended to the people of Germany the colonial project, which he still regarded as "the jewel of his kingdom." His enlightened and famous Chancellor Oxenstiern, who ruled the country during the minority of Queen Christina, keenly appreciated the wisdom of the king's original design, and earnestly set to work to prosecute the measure for a colony, "with the intelligence of a statesman and the zeal of a Christian."

A ship of war and another smaller vessel, laden with people, with provisions, with merchandise for traffic with the Indians, and with manuals of devotion and instruction in their holy faith, set sail in August, 1637, to found a New Sweden on the banks of the Delaware. The Rev. Reorus Torkillus accompanied the colony as pastor. They landed early in 1638, near Cape Henlopen, in the neighborhood of what is now Lewes, in the State of Delaware.

Land was immediately purchased from the Indians, who were regarded as the proper owners and possessors of the country, and one of the first houses erected after the fort was the church, which was inclosed by the same walls, both church and fort being rude structures and very properly combined into one fortress, a place of defense against both the foes of the body and those of the soul. This was the first Evangelical Lutheran Church erected on this continent. The fort was called Christina, after the virgin Queen, who reigned at the time over Sweden. The land occupied lay on the western side of the river, extending from the mouth of the Delaware Bay to the Falls of Trenton, and "was ceded to the Swedish crown forever." Later, by pur-

chase and by treaty, the boundaries of this tract were expanded westward to the great Falls of the Susquehanna, near York Haven, so that they embraced the present State of Delaware and a large portion of Southeastern Pennsylvania. A formal deed was drawn up and signed by the hands and marks of the natives. It was written in Dutch, because no Swede was yet able to interpret the language of the heathen.

Thus, nearly fifty years before the historic treaty made by William Penn with the Indians under the Shakamaxon elm, the Swedish Lutherans had made honorable purchase of their lands from "the lords of the country," and it is making a modest but just claim to maintain that the friendly attitude of the savages toward William Penn, was in great measure due to the Christian labors and exemplary lives of pious Lutherans, who for nearly half a century previous had been teaching and practicing among them the righteous principles and the brotherly love of the Gospel, in close proximity to the very spot laid out by Penn for his right-angled city. A strong bond of sympathy had been formed at an early day between the Swedes and the Indians, and these cordial relations which were never interrupted, proved very effectual in subduing the passions and conciliating the feelings of the savages. Thus to the Lutheran Church "belonged the part of pioneer in the management of a treaty which, for its purity and integrity has, above all others, a world-wide and everlasting fame."

Finding the Dutch laying claim to all the land between the Delaware and their city of New Amsterdam, the Swedes confined their settlement to the west side

of the river. The Dutch, evidently afraid of being crowded, raised objections even to their occupancy of the west bank. These greedy Hollanders, who had never purchased a square yard of the land, and who bore no special love for Lutherans, claimed the whole river, claimed pretty much everything, and they made a wordy protest against "the Swedes building forts upon our rivers and coasts and settling people on the land," threatening to protect their rights "in such manner as we may find most advisable." In those days it has been expressively observed "the times gave him the best right who had the most strength."

A second company of emigrants from Sweden with Lieut. Col. John Printz, under appointment as Governor of New Sweden, and Magister John Campanius (Holm) as Government Chaplain and pastor of the congregation, came over in 1642. Three vessels conveyed the heroic and devout band, and it required six months to make the voyage. These were shortly succeeded by other ships carrying additional people and valuable freight, each new company of emigrants bringing additional clergymen. The colony soon enjoyed a high degree of prosperity. The banks of the Delaware were dotted with pleasant hamlets. The people were happy, intelligent and virtuous. They were animated by the spirit of their holy religion, not by the spirit of adventure or the lust for gain.

The planting of the Christian Church was, as we have seen, the first object contemplated by Gustavus Adolphus. How prominent the religious interest and consideration for the heathen continued in the counsels of those who ultimately carried his project into

execution, may be seen in the instructions given by the Swedish Council of State to Governor Printz :

"The wild nations the Governor shall understand how to treat with all humanity and respect, that no violence or wrong be done to them by her Royal Majesty or her subjects ; but he shall rather, at every opportunity, exert himself, that the same wild people may gradually be instructed in the truths and worship of the Christian religion, and in other ways brought to civilization and good government, and in this manner properly guided."

That the Swedish statesmen and the colonists whom they sent to these shores, were not wholly insensible to motives of worldly policy, is seen from the charge given the latter to "allow the wild people to obtain such things as they need at a price somewhat more moderate than they are getting them of the Hollanders at Fort Nassau, or the adjacent English, so that said wild people may be withdrawn from them, and be so much the more won to our people."

"Above all things," says section 26 of the Council's instruction, "shall the Governor consider and see to it that a true and due worship, becoming honor, laud and praise be paid to the Most High God in all things, and to that end all proper care shall be taken that divine service be zealously performed according to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, the Council of Upsala and the ceremonies of the Swedish Church, and all persons, but especially the young, shall be duly instructed in the articles of the Christian faith ; and all good Church discipline shall, in like manner, be duly exercised and received."

The famous compact drawn up in the "Mayflower" may have "borne the germs of the republican institutions of the United States," but as a charter of religious principles it admits of no comparison with this. That contemplated a state, as in fact those Puritans were political agitators quite as much as they were religious zealots. Here is a body of Lutherans perfectly content with the civil power to which they were subject, but contemplating primarily a missionary movement, the establishment of the Church of God



FIRST LUTHERAN CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA. BUILT A. D., 1669.

among the heathen by the colonization among them of a Christian people. And the Lutherans may honestly claim the glory of being the first Protestants to settle in the unpruned forests of America impelled by the missionary idea as the chief inspiring cause.

And so they were undoubtedly the first to advance here the principle of religious tolerance. These same instructions, given at Stockholm, August 15, 1642, declare: "So far as relates to the Holland colonists that

live and settle under the government of her Royal Majesty and the Swedish crown, the governor shall not disturb them in the indulgence granted them as to the exercise of the Reformed religion."

This has a ring somewhat different from the proceedings of the Dutch Calvinists in New Amsterdam, who, as noticed in the previous chapter, a few years later, resorted to fines, whippings and imprisonments for the suppression of the Lutheran Church. That these liberal instructions were faithfully carried out by the colonists we have every reason to believe.

Pastor Campanius, who arrived with the second colony, labored not only with enlightened zeal and marked efficiency over the little congregation with whose spiritual oversight he was charged, but he took a deep Christian interest in the welfare of the natives. He maintained "a constant intercourse with the wild people," and applied himself eagerly to the mastery of their language, for which his scientific attainments stood him in good stead, in the hope that he might thus be able to proclaim in their own tongue the wonderful works of God.

"His intimacy with the neighboring tribes and their several chiefs was promoted by the successive governors of the colony; and with the simplicity and tenderness of one who is dealing with babes, he unfolded before them the great mystery of the Gospel," and succeeded by patient assiduity in making them understand many of its cardinal truths.

• If these missionary efforts of Campanius did not precede those of Eliot in Roxbury, they were at least contemporaneous with them, and Lutherans share the

glory of being among the first Protestant missionaries to the Indians. Certainly in Pennsylvania they were the first; and before any literary undertaking of the kind received attention elsewhere, Campanius conceived the difficult task of translating Luther's Small Catechism into the Delaware language. Through some unaccountable delay in the printing of this work at Upsala, it did not appear until some time after the publication, in 1661, of Eliot's translation of the New Testament into the Mohegan dialect; but the work of translating preceded it by some ten or fifteen years, and the inimitable Catechism of the Lutheran Church was beyond question the first Protestant book to be translated into a heathen tongue.

Unhappily, the gathering of the natives into the Christian fold, which had been commenced so zealously and so wisely, was destined soon to be checked by great trials, and the little bands of Lutherans had to experience bitter destitution and overwhelming calamities.

The first minister, Torkillus, ended his life at Fort Christina (Wilmington, Del.), September 7th, 1643, shortly after the arrival of Pastor Campanius. The latter departed from New Sweden in May, 1648. The Rev. Israel Holgh and the Rev. Peter came over some years later; but their stay was evidently brief, since the home authorities followed the unwise policy of recalling, after a few years' service, the devoted servants of the Church, who had labored here among the aborigines as well as among the settlers, so that, while at times these colonial communities enjoyed the ministrations of two pastors, they often for a consid-

erable while were left without any. Of the four who succeeded Pastor Torkillus, the Rev. Lars Lock (Lockenius) was the only one who remained in the country till his death, which occurred in 1688. For the period of twenty-two years he labored alone among these people scattered through the wilderness, preaching at Fort Christina and at Tenacon (Tinicum), twelve miles below Philadelphia, where a second church, "a handsome wooden building," had been erected shortly after the arrival of Governor Printz, who fixed his residence in that locality. Of this pastor it is said that he was "certainly an instrument in the hands of God for sustaining these Swedish churches for so long a time." The Tenacon Church consecrated in 1646, in what is now Delaware County, was the first Evangelical Lutheran house of worship in Pennsylvania.

Most unfortunately for the interests of these first Lutheran churches in America, the encroaching and more powerful Dutch in New Amsterdam succeeded in the conquest of the colony in the year 1655—less than twenty years after the first settlement. The Swedish Governor was expelled from the country, the people passed under the control of the Dutch, much of their property was taken from them, the principle men and families were violently removed, intercourse with the mother country was entirely broken off, and the little congregations on the Delaware were left in complete isolation. Bringing with them the same intolerance which would allow no Lutheran worship in New Amsterdam, these Dutch conquerors managed to have two of the pastors at once sent out of the country

with the Swedish garrison, the third one, Pastor Lock, being permitted to remain according to the articles of capitulation, but to the great disgust of Dominie Megapolensis, the Dutch Reformed pastor at Manhattan.

Not knowing that their countrymen and brethren in the faith had been subjugated to a foreign yoke, a fresh accession to the colony came sailing into the river in March, 1656, bringing as usual a Lutheran minister, the Rev. Mr. Matthias. But the Hollanders forbade the ship which had on board a large number of people, to ascend the river. This afforded the Indians, who were wont to call the Swedes their brothers, an opportunity for showing their continued devotion to them, notwithstanding the fact that the government had passed into the hands of the conqueror. Impelled by their friendship "the Indians united together, went on board the ship, and in defiance of the Hollanders, conducted the ship past Sandhook, or Fort Casimir (now Newcastle, Del.), without its daring to fire a shot, and conveyed it up to Christina." What proportion of the passengers remained in this country, now that it was no longer New Sweden, is not known, but for some reason the Rev. Mr. Matthias immediately returned to Sweden, and with him doubtless went some others. Perhaps the Dutch did not appreciate the solid character of these people who had come to swell a flourishing colony which was now under their rule. They would have made excellent reinforcements to the community, for it had been forbidden in Sweden under a

penalty to take to America "any persons of bad fame."

After this no more ships came from Sweden. No word, even, ever came across the sea. Communication was absolutely impossible between these isolated Lutherans and their brethren or their government at home. There was of course at that period no mail service between Sweden and America, and even if they could have written to England no one had any acquaintance there who could in the least degree further their cause. It came in course of time that these Swedes knew no more of their mother country than what they heard through traditions. A long period of trial and spiritual destitution followed. All the outward circumstances of the people were unfavorable to their spiritual growth and the prosperity of the churches. They were not only deprived of the protection and support of the Swedish government, which in those days was of so much importance to religion, but they had among other cruel ordeals to suffer pitiless wrongs from the haughty wife of the ex-governor, who remained in the country some years after her husband's expulsion, and who had so little sympathy with her people and with their religious interests that she is reported to have sold, along with her farm at Tenacon, the church which was built upon it. How the church was recovered for them is not known, but it was certainly used by them without hindrance till 1700. The bell, however, we are told, "they had to buy back again by two days' reaping in harvest time."

The Dutch authorities gave themselves little con-

cern about public worship. Though in some respects they were very tyrannical, and though they required all the Swedes, who desired to remain, to take the oath of allegiance, they had in the capitulation guaranteed to the Lutherans the liberty of "adhering to their own Augsburg Confession, as also to support a minister for their instruction." The Hollanders were not slow to intermarry with them, and as they erected no churches they soon coalesced with the Lutherans in church association.

Some of these Hollanders may, indeed, have been Lutherans. A small wooden edifice was erected at Tranhook which was, by nearly two miles, more convenient for the Hollanders. The only clergyman in the whole district was the Rev. Lars Lock, and his faithful ministrations were extended alike to Swedes and Dutch, to Lutherans and Calvinists. But when his faithless wife involved him through a second marriage in an unseemly scandal, "he drew upon himself the severe animadversion of the presiding Governor and his Commissary, who required him to intermit his ministry for some time. In the meanwhile, through the favor of Stuyvesant, the legal requirements were complied with "and the Rev. Lars was again vested with his gown."

As the earnest little Christian colony had now been wrested from Sweden and cut off entirely from intercourse with the mother country, the noble purpose of its founding would seem to have been lamentably prostrated. And the preservation of the Lutheran Church under these circumstances may well be set down among remarkable providences. The friendly

relations with the natives remained uninterrupted and doubtless they continued their missionary labors among them. A century later the Indians still told of the treaties between their forefathers and the Swedes. But this very friendship with the Indians brought them under the cruel suspicion of the Hollanders, who charged them with secret plottings, and under this most unjust imputation arrested and transported beyond the colony some of the worthiest men among them. While their ships had enabled the Dutch to force the surrender of their forts, they seem to have constantly dreaded the strength of the Swedes who as late as 1660 numbered but one hundred and thirty families, and who never exceeded the aggregate of one thousand souls.

In September, 1664, the Dutch rule in America came, as was noted above, to a sudden and inglorious close, the authorities at New Amsterdam without offering any resistance surrendering the country to an English squadron "three hundred men strong." This change of government, which at last brought tolerance to the Dutch Lutherans on the Hudson, could bring no harm to the Swedes on the Delaware. It proved in various ways of great advantage to them. It gave them at least a better prospect of communicating with their countrymen at home through the assistance of the English than had been afforded by their Dutch rulers. In the terms of surrender it was stipulated that they should "remain undisturbed in their religion as Lutherans, and in the public service of God, as they particularly insisted."

When the Dutch, nine years later, reconquered the

country, the first article of the instructions given to Peter. Alrich, who was made Commandant over the South or Delaware river, required him to "uphold the true Christian doctrine in accordance with the decrees of the Synod of Dordt, and admit of no other doctrine in conflict therewith." The Augsburg Confession was thus to be suppressed by force and the Lutherans of New Sweden were to share with their brethren in New Amsterdam the sufferings and the honors of persecution. Fortunately for them and for the future of this whole country, the English in little more than a year recovered control of the Dutch possessions in the New World, and the little congregations of Lutherans were henceforth to enjoy the solace and support of their precious faith without molestation from a hostile government.

Their lot was indeed distressing, and through their isolation from the Church of Sweden they were cut off from the source of spiritual supply, and soon experienced lamentable destitution, deprived as they were both of ministers to serve at the altar and of manuals of devotion to nurture their souls at the fireside and illumine their pathway in the wilderness. But their Christian zeal and their devotion to their Church nobly survived their bitter trials. Instead of growing cold or lukewarm in the absence of pastoral ministrations, they yearned for the preaching of the Gospel and made every possible exertion to secure the services of new pastors, as their aged ones were stricken down by disease or death.

In 1672 they extended a call to Pastor Fabricius, who, some years before, had made an unenviable

record as pastor of the churches on the Hudson, and who through his misfortunes there had evidently become a wiser and better man. Although he again repeatedly came into collision with the authorities, who on several occasions suspended him, he fulfilled a long career of usefulness among the Swedish Lutherans. He preached mostly in the Dutch language, but he so far mastered the Swedish that he could intelligibly hold service also in that tongue. He preached alternately at Tenacon and at Wicacoa, a mile below the southern limits of Philadelphia where a block-house was turned into a church in 1669. It was a wise measure which more than once in our early history converted those structures which had been erected for the defense of men's bodies into fortresses where spiritual weapons could be employed for the salvation of their souls. The Indians, it was possible, might fall upon the congregation while at worship and capture the whole flock. The churches were accordingly so constructed that "after a suitable elevation, like any other house, a projection was made some courses higher, out of which they could shoot, so that if the heathen fell upon them, which could not be done without their coming up to the house, then the Swedes could shoot down upon them continually, and the heathen who used only bows and arrows, could do them little or no injury." The Swedes have, however, never been charged, as were their Puritan neighbors, with falling first on their knees, then falling on the Aborigines.

After the accession of Fabricius an arrangement was effected by which the work of the whole district

was amicably divided so that the Lutherans living above a certain point were placed under the care of Rev. Lars Lock, and those below this point remained under the pastorate of Rev. Jakobus Fabricius. The latter resided at what is now Kensington and made the trips to the Wicacoa and Tranhook churches as also "down into Maryland" by means of a canoe. He became blind a few years after he had entered upon his pastorate here, but this affliction did not prevent him from watching over his congregation according to his ability. His associate, Pastor Lock, was likewise burdened in his old age with many troubles, so that in the touching phraseology of a subsequent letter to Sweden "though there were two ministers in the churches, yet their infirmities made them hardly equal to one."

William Penn arrived on the shores of the Delaware October 24, 1682, having with him twenty ships filled with people who were to settle the province of Pennsylvania under him as proprietary and governor. Although strenuously opposed to his coming, since they were really the owners of the soil, the Swedes received the new comers "with great friendliness, carried up their goods and furniture from the ships, and entertained them in their houses without charge," showing a Christian hospitality which continued to be gratefully recalled by the Quakers for a century later. Penn was delighted with them and appreciated especially their kind offices for him with the Indians. They acted as his interpreters. He relates that he found them quite as cordial toward him as were the few Englishmen who lived among them, and he commends their

respect for authority as well as their kind behavior to the English. "As they are a proper people and strong of body," he adds, "so have they fine children, and almost every house full. And I must do them that right—I see few young men more sober and industrious." Abundance of children and habits of sobriety and industry—from the days of Penn to the present hour there has never been in this country a generation of Lutherans who did not merit and receive this encomium.

These thrifty and intelligent people so won the esteem and friendship of their new Quaker fellow-citizens that they soon held a place both in the General Assembly of the Province and in the Governor's Council. There is a tradition that about this time an impostor came among them gathering followers and creating considerable disturbance, and that he would have brought his countrymen into evil report and suspicion "had not the honesty of these people in general been well known by so many proofs before."

But worldly station, earthly prosperity, and the confidence and good will alike of the natives and of Europeans, were no substitute for the ordinances of the sanctuary and the ministrations of the Gospel. These were no means of grace to them and to their children. Well might they have said :

"Thanks to thy name for meaner things,
But these are not my God !"

Two generations before, their ancestors had come to these wild shores with their ministers and their

Bibles, with the Church and the Sacraments and the Catechism, but the precious books could not last forever nor suffice for the multiplying population, and the ministers had either been recalled to Sweden, ended their labors in death, or become disqualified by age and infirmities for the pastoral oversight of the people. Pastor Lock, after having been for years incapacitated for the work of his calling, ended a life of many sorrows in 1688. Pastor Fabricius to whom, while blind and decrepit he yet lingered among them, his congregations could pay the tribute: "He has faithfully and zealously taken care of us in accordance with the teachings of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, in pure doctrine and exemplary life;" and of whom after sixteen years of labor among them they said: "He is an admirable preacher but, God's blessing on him, he is so aged, and has lost his sight for so long a time; yet is he one who has taught us God's pure and true Word, and administered the Holy Sacraments among us." This devoted man passed away about the year 1693.

Then followed some years during which not a single clergyman ministered to these Lutheran congregations. But though destitute of the regular ministry the churches were not closed. The people continued to assemble in the place of prayer on the Lord's day, united in singing the Songs of Zion, and listened to the voice of some pious and competent layman who read to them the Epistle and Gospel for the day, offered up prayers and frequently also read a sermon from Möller's Postilla. Thus while left like sheep without a shepherd and with many

severe trials of their faith, these Lutherans on the Delaware present touching evidences of love for the Church, devotion to her ordinances and an abiding spiritual interest in her doctrines. They could accordingly not content themselves without the regular dispensing of the Word. They kept hungering and thirsting for the spiritual refreshment of the preached gospel. They knew that Christ's cause must languish without the services of men appointed to its oversight, and accordingly they left nothing undone to open communications with the Church in Europe and to secure laborers for the vineyard of the Lord.

Their earnest efforts in this behalf met again and again with the bitterest disappointment. No answer was received to their touching importunities, not an echo, even, came back to them when they sent piteous appeals to Sweden for pastors and for religious literature. Evidently, with the sea swarming with pirates and the circuitous routes of transportation in that day, their letters depicting the distress of their churches never reached their destination. Remaining firm and undaunted in their determination to obtain pastors, they conceived of another plan by which it was hoped they might succeed. Through the assistance of New York merchants who traded regularly with Amsterdam, they conveyed an appeal to the Lutheran Consistory of that city to procure for them a Swedish clergyman, either one who might be known to them as being without charge, or some one from Sweden who might be reached through the interposition of this ecclesiastical body.

After stating that their faithful Pastor Fabricius,

"considering his advanced age, his blindness and his infirmities" had been constrained to lay down his office as a minister of the Gospel, they described their "most deserted condition in regard to their holy religion," they were "as chickens without the hen, as sheep without a shepherd, as sick without a physician, verily in the greatest danger." They urged their "blessed fellowship" in the faith with this Lutheran Consistory, their fervent zeal for the honor of God and the maintenance of their Christian faith, and pleaded for "the spiritual refreshment alike of the old and of the young for their eternal salvation." And as a further and striking evidence of their estimation of pastoral ministrations, their letter contained the offer of what must be considered for that day a liberal support, a salary of one hundred rix dollars with a house and glebe. But all was in vain. The melancholy result is told in one brief but affecting sentence: "The people waited, but no clergyman came."

Equally fruitless were the kindly and zealous endeavors of William Penn, who, Quaker that he was and therefore inimical to a regular ministry, immediately after his return from America applied to the Swedish Ambassador at London for his assistance in obtaining for these people, clergymen and books from Sweden, assuring him that he would take care to have them forwarded from London. Penn himself is said to have sent them "a box of Catechisms and other books, together with a Bible in folio, for use in the church, though all in English."

Souls have never cried in vain for the bread of life. Man's extremity is God's opportunity. Deso-

late and famished, doomed to cruel disappointment in every attempt to obtain pastors, they were to witness, when all human help had failed, the wonderful intervention of divine help. No Christian people anywhere have so often and so vividly experienced, as the Lutherans in this country, that the very hour which marks the deepest distress of the church is wont to strike the signal for its deliverance. Human counsel, wisdom and strength are brought to naught that no flesh should glory, and then when the hearts of men are fully prepared for such a revelation, they learn that "the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men." There are in fact nowhere to be found brighter instances of a heroic and all conquering faith in God and of singular and manifold interventions of Providence than are presented in the successive chapters of Lutheran history in this land.

A Swedish gentleman by the name of Printz happened to come hither on an English ship. It was in those days a rare pleasure for the Swedes to behold one of their countrymen, and they gave Printz a cordial welcome and soon made him acquainted with their spiritual condition. On returning to Stockholm he communicated their desire to have ministers, bibles, hymn-books and other manuals of devotion, to certain pious laymen in whom their spiritual destitution awakened profound sympathy and a sincere zeal for the Church of God. They succeeded in bringing the sore need of these far distant Lutherans to the notice of the king, Charles XI., who was deeply affected by their condition and at once gave especial attention

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to their relief, cherishing "a Royal grace and care for their eternal salvation and welfare, and for the upholding of the pure and uncorrupted Lutheran religion."

A letter of inquiry was at once dispatched, assuring them that as soon as definite and circumstan-



OLD SWEDES' CHURCH, WICACOA, (GLORIA DEI). DEDICATED JULY 2, 1700.

tial information concerning their spiritual necessities could be received from them, His Majesty would most graciously send them not only ministers but also all sorts of religious books. The letter implored them to give information "on every particular of their

condition in the least as well as in the greatest," and requested them to send back their response as speedily as possible, since "this may lead to your soul's welfare and salvation," and it closed with the entreaty "Be not negligent in the matter which pertains to your eternal welfare, for you can certainly see that the great God doth just as speedily help through lowly friends as through the great."

This letter was in due season received in America and occasioned the greatest joy. It was looked upon in the light of a message from heaven, it was certainly a messenger of divine Providence. The response to it, we may feel assured, was not long delayed. It bears the date of May 31, 1693, just eight days after the reception of the letter from Sweden. The writing of it devolved upon Charles Springer, a Swede who through singular personal trials had found his way to his countrymen in Pennsylvania. He was a man of education. He had been appointed a magistrate among the Swedes at Christina, and was one of those pious laymen who in default of pastors conducted religious services in the Lutheran churches, "a God-fearing man, who spared neither labor nor expense for the establishment of the Lutheran Church in the American wilderness." It overflows with gratitude, rejoicing, and praise to "the great God who, we verily and in our hearts believe, has and will continue to have His hand in the completion of this work which has been begun in so Christian a manner. For we do not believe that God will forsake us, although we are in a strange and heathen land, far away from our own dear fatherland."

Complying with the request of their friends in Sweden for full details of their situation, stating among other circumstances that "our wives and daughters busy themselves much in spinning both wool and flax, many also with weaving, so that we have great reason to thank Almighty God for the support of our daily life," and that "we live in great amity with the Indians, who have not done us any harm for many years," the burden of this communication is of course their spiritual situation, their desire to "obtain faithful pastors and watchmen for our souls, who may feed us with that spiritual food which is the preaching of God's Word, and the administration of the Holy Sacraments in their proper form. We therefore beg," the letter proceeds, "that there may be sent to us two Swedish ministers, who are well learned and well exercised in the Holy Scriptures, and who may well defend both themselves and us against all the false teachers and strange sects by whom we are surrounded, or who may oppose us on account of our true, pure and uncorrupted service to God and the Lutheran religion, which we shall now confess before God and all the world, so that if it should so happen, which, however, may God avert, we are ready to seal this with our own blood. We beg also that these ministers may be such as live a sedate and sober life, so that we and our children, led by the example of their godly conversation, may also lead lives godly and well pleasing to God."

It certainly forms no mean element in the glory of which Lutherans boast, that their Church was first planted in this country by men of heroic faith, of a

martyr's devotion to pure doctrine, and of apostolic zeal for holiness! To the plea for ministers was added the request for twelve Bibles, three volumes of Sermons, forty-two devotional Manuals, one hundred Hand-books and spiritual Meditations, and two hundred Catechisms, for all of which they proposed to "pay and make satisfaction in all honesty and uprightness," engaging even in the event that these books might by some accident be unfortunately lost on the way, "even then honestly to pay for them."

Of this letter which arrived safely and promptly, it is said many copies were made in Sweden. It was circulated from hand to hand and drew tears from many eyes. The king personally took prompt and active measures to answer and even exceed their prayer, and displayed in fact a most royal and pious zeal to assure the fullest success to the enterprise. He called to his counsels the Archbishop and other high dignitaries of the Church, and charged them zealously to exert themselves "to seek out and provide such learned and godly men as were desired by the Swedish colony on the South River in America, to procure faithful laborers for that vineyard of the Lord," promising that as soon as the men were ready, proper arrangements should be made for their journey with generous provisions for their outfit and traveling expenses.

The first man chosen by the Consistory was Andrew Rudman, a candidate for the degree in Philosophy, who was urged by the most pressing reasons to enter upon this work, and who after some days' reflection consented. His academic degree was conferred

upon him before his departure. Rudman, with admirable considerateness on the part of the authorities, was himself allowed to make choice of a fellow-laborer in his office, and he selected Mr. Eric Björk, who was well known to the Provost of the Cathedral in Upsala. To these two clergymen a third, Mr. Jonas Auren, was added by the king's command. It was to be his chief errand to make a map of the country with a description of its character and the condition of its inhabitants; then to come home immediately and communicate it to His Majesty. Yet that he might accomplish the more good, he was also ordained along with Mr. Björk in Upsala, Rudman having previously taken orders.

All the preparations for the departure of the three missionaries seemed to have been completed. They had already taken leave of their friends and were about to set sail, when to their great sorrow it was discovered that the printer had failed to furnish the Indian Catechism, copies of the translation of Luther's Small Catechism, which, as noticed above, Campanius had fifty years previously made into an Indian tongue. As the evangelization of the heathen was a leading incentive for their braving the perils of the sea and of the wilderness, they would not consent to sail until they were supplied with these precious text-books for their Christian instruction. They refused to go abroad and labor among their brethren unless they could at the same time enjoy the privilege of teaching the way of salvation to the wild Indians, an example which commends itself to-day with especial emphasis to such Lutherans as hold that they have so great a task in

churching the vast emigrant population, that they do not feel called upon to engage in missionary labors among the heathen of our own or of other lands.

At last the printer's work was finished and an edition of five hundred Indian Catechisms "in the American Virginian language" was placed on board along with all the other books which had been asked for, the king graciously donating these to the congregations, with the assurance that it gave "especial gratification to His Majesty to hear of the well-being of said congregations, and of their zeal and constancy in the pure and evangelical doctrine." On every copy of these books, even on the Catechisms, were stamped the king's initials in gilt letters. The party sailed for London, August 4, 1696, after an affecting farewell from the king, who sent his orders to the captain of the vessel directing him "to pay these persons the kindest attentions." The Secretary of the Swedish Embassy in London was also advised to forward them in their voyage from that place, a measure which proved to be by no means superfluous, for the English government was not disposed to allow them the continuance of their voyage, but after considerable delay this was accorded "in respect for the Christian work which they had undertaken." The delay in granting this permission and issuing the proper passport, turned out to be one of those kind providences which at the time of their occurrence appear so mysterious and so trying to faith but turn out so happy in the issue. The ship in which they had engaged passage and which left port without them, encountered serious disaster at sea and with

great difficulty reached a port in Portugal, and did not reach America until a year after the arrival of these missionaries in Pennsylvania.

After a voyage of ten weeks they landed in Virginia in April, 1697, and thence proceeded to Maryland whither the ship was bound. "Then after the Governor of Maryland, Francis Nicholson, Esq., had hospitably entertained them for two weeks, and made them a donation of twenty-six dollars for their traveling expenses, they continued their journey on a yacht to Elk River, and there they landed on Midsummer's day, (June 24). Some Swedes dwelt in that place, who welcomed their countrymen most heartily, and immediately sent word to their brethren in Pennsylvania, who came without delay, and with tears of joy conducted their much longed-for countrymen overland to their homes.

The first official action of the ministers was to collect the congregations together and present their commission from the King and Archbishop. This was done in the Church at Wicacoa on the first Sunday after their arrival, and at Tranhook one week later. While ordinarily congregations choose their teachers, in this case the teachers chose their congregations. It was agreed that Rudman, having been first called, should have the privilege of choosing his congregation. He selected Wicacoa and Mr. Björk took Tranhook. "Then they separated with thanksgivings, prayers and tears, and each one remained with his own flock, which he must now gather up, as it were, out of the wilderness." Of the Tenacon Church nothing is reported in this connection, and of Mr. Auren it is

simply stated that he remained for some time with Pastor Rudman "before he entered upon his travels over the country."

Settled over their regular flocks the two pastors did not forget the claims of the surrounding heathen. They labored unweariedly to bring these also to the marvellous light of the Gospel, and the line of spiritual sympathy which had been formed by the enlightened activity of Campanius in the preceding generation was greatly strengthened by the labors of these earnest missionaries.

The care of their own flocks required, of course, their assiduous attention. The old buildings being found in a dilapidated condition, one of their first movements was to agitate the subject of church erection. With little money and large faith, a substantial building was commenced at Christina in May, 1698. The ground for it, "together with two fathoms of ground on the West and South sides for free ingress and egress," was presented by John Stalcop, an officer of the congregation. The edifice was built of granite, sixty feet long, thirty broad and twenty high. The wall was six feet thick in the foundation, and three feet at the windows as well as above them. Five large arched windows admitted the light and there were three arched doors. Considering the times and the circumstances this was a magnificent church building, a monument of Lutheran liberality, zeal and energy.

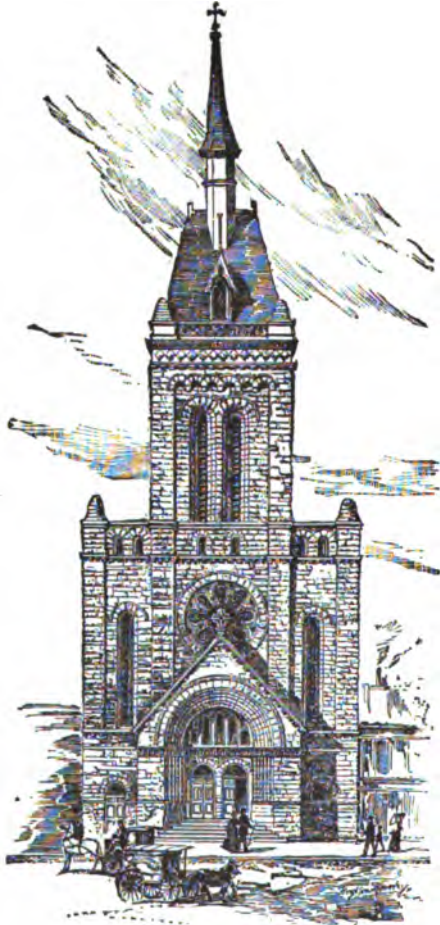
There was great difficulty in obtaining mechanics and day laborers. "The cost amounted to eight hundred pounds. When the accounts were settled, the

congregation fell in debt to the pastor to the amount of one hundred and thirty-five pounds, which he afterwards donated. Money, it is remarked was at that time more abundant in the country than for a long time since, which may indeed be taken as a strong proof of God's providence." One gentleman had advanced a loan of three hundred and twenty pounds, and had taken a note at ten per cent. interest, which was two per cent. more than the law allowed and it consequently exposed him to a penalty of one hundred pounds. He took the precaution to get under cover and presented this one hundred pounds to the congregation which thereupon honored him with "the front pew in the church and also with a burial place." Public thanks were afterwards offered to God "who had moved him to make such a gift," and happiness and blessings invoked upon him and his children. These prayers do not seem to have received the answer sought, for at a later day the man got into financial straits and showed his true character "by demanding anew the whole debt with accrued interest."

The consecration of the church was an occasion of great solemnity and overflowing festal joy. Governor Markham was invited to be present, but could not attend. A public dinner, for which the members respectively had furnished "all sorts of meat and drink," was partaken of by nearly the whole congregation. "All rejoiced and praised God for His gracious care in raising up his Church in this wild land. The same day, which was Trinity Sunday, was for a long time after annually celebrated by an evening service of praise and thanksgiving. Matins were held on

Christmas, Easter and Pentecost, as also throughout the summer. Garlanded lights and side lights were made of pine wood, for use in the Christmas service. A belfry was projected, but never completed. The bell was hung upon a walnut tree in the church-yard.

Simultaneously with the erection of a church edifice at Christina a similar undertaking was started at Wicacoa, the membership of which parish lived partly in Philadelphia which had been founded in 1682, and which Pastor Björk called in 1697 "a clever little town," and partly in the various surrounding districts, some even on the other side of the Delaware, and in many cases quite remote from one another. Of the necessity for a new church there was but one mind, and four hundred pounds were promised by subscriptions for



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GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS SWEDISH LUTHERAN
CHURCH, NEW YORK.

commencing the work. But when it came to fixing the locality for "a new Mother Church" a terrible controversy broke out. The "settlers below" the Schuylkill contended for a site at Passayungh, where the congregation had bought a piece of land for a parsonage and glebe. The "upper settlers" wished to have it again at Wicacoa, upon the same ground on which the old church stood. A third party proposed that as Tenakon was the oldest church in the country, it should be kept up as long as possible, and then another one should be afterwards erected at the same place.

Each of the parties became more determined and at the same time, as is wont to be the case in church quarrels, "more lukewarm in the Christian work." The pastor felt himself greatly hindered in his calling by the turbulence of faction, and became so distressed in mind and so weary of the protracted strife, that he relinquished the care of the congregation and threatened to return at once to Sweden, though but a few months before he had written to a friend, that he did not "know of any place in the world where a Christian minister could live happier or more beloved than here." He betook himself to Christina and sought the sympathy and good offices of his friend and faithful fellow-laborer Björk, who went over to the assembled congregation and preached to them a sermon on "The Tears of Christ," with a direct reference to the existing state of things. "And as a part of them were not present he presently put his admonitions and reproofs in a written form, which was sent around to be read from house to house. The effect

of this was all that could be desired—the tears of Christ ought to settle every quarrel between brethren. “They all became humble and penitent on account of their folly, and bound themselves to commit the matter wholly and entirely to the judgment of the three ministers, as well in regard to the choice of the place as to the plan and cost of the church edifice; and also agreed that there should be a fine of ten pounds imposed upon any who should find fault with what was done therein.” Both parties also gave a written pledge to pay their old subscriptions to the church edifice, wherever it should be located, and also “to send down their representatives to Christina to beg their pastor’s forgiveness and beseech him that he would not forsake them,”—an edifying spectacle of the saving common sense with which the Gospel inspires the minds of its subjects.

The ministers finally concluded to build at Wicacoa, close by the old church. Among the reasons assigned for this determination were that by the casting of lots this site had once before been selected for this purpose; that a graveyard was already arranged there; that the site commanded a very fine prospect; that the value of the property would increase by its proximity to the city, and that “the name of the Swedes would ever be held in remembrance, as their church thus stood in view of vessels as they sailed upon the river.” The difficulty which the lower settlers would have in coming over the Schuylkill was to be relieved by a flat-boat which the congregation should maintain at its own expense.

The quarrel had delayed the work for an entire

year, but it was now prosecuted with the greatest zeal, Pastor Rudman being architect, superintendent and paymaster, the same masons and carpenters who had been employed on the Christina church doing the work also on this one, the dimensions of which were exactly the same. The foundation was of stone, and the walls of brick, "every other one glazed." In the course of a year the church was nearly completed, a cross-wall at the west end being left intentionally unfinished, "until it could be seen whether some bells could be obtained from Sweden." On the second of July, 1700, on the first Sunday after Trinity, the building was dedicated to the worship of God, under the name of *Gloria Dei*, with solemn and imposing services, in the presence of a numerous and promiscuous assembly, a large part of whom were English people from Philadelphia, "on whose account the conclusion of the address was translated into English."

The Christian zeal, the enterprise, liberality and good taste displayed by the Lutherans in the erection of these two large, costly and beautiful churches, commanded the admiration of their English neighbors far and wide. "The fame of them was noised abroad to neighboring provinces," and confirmed the high estimate which had long been formed of these communities. "The English inhabitants having been interested in the progress of the building both at Wicacoa and Christina, continued long after their consecration, to gaze upon them with wonder. Strangers visiting the region of the Delaware walked round about their walls and with respectful mien were pleased to enter their sacred courts. Even the gov-

ernors of Maryland and Virginia,—Nicholson and Blackstone,—attended by their respective suites, were gratified on the occasion of seeing with their own eyes these noble monuments of Christian zeal and Lutheran enterprise.”

Fully consecrated to the work of saving souls, fired with a loyal devotion to the pure doctrines of grace, and manifesting continually the spirit of progress and of an enlightened zeal, it need not surprise us to find that these earnest and cultured ministers, whose character and learning commended them to the foremost persons of the country, soon found their work appreciated by the people of other nationalities. Not only Hollanders who had long intermingled with the Swedes as one people became identified with their congregations, but also many English, Scotch, Irish and German families, all using the Swedish language. Great as was the simplicity of these primitive American Lutheran divines it never occurred to them that they had been entrusted with the Gospel for the preaching of it solely to Lutherans and their children.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EARLIEST LUTHERANS IN AMERICA—THE GERMANS.

IT is noteworthy that, while the Reformation had its cradle in Germany, and the Evangelical Lutheran Church is popularly regarded as the Church of the Germans and their descendants, Lutherans had occupied this country for several generations before any distinct traces of their German brethren are to be found here. The first Lutheran settlers in America were, undoubtedly, Hollanders, and the first to be regularly organized under the care of a pastor were Swedes. It is likewise to be noticed that, while the Portuguese, Spaniards, French, Dutch and English planted their standards and founded their colonies on these western shores, the governments of the great German nation did not enter upon any such colonial enterprises. The Hanseatic cities might have furnished the necessary transports, but Germany lay prostrate and desolate from the results of the Thirty Years' War. Towns and villages lay in ashes, its fairest districts had become deserts, and even where prosperity and political power began once more to revive, the remorseless wars and aggressions of Louis XIV. quelled all ambition for the extension of territory or power and rendered it impossible for German princes to undertake any projects beyond the seas.

Hence, to the few of their subjects who found themselves in a condition to emigrate to the New World, there remained no alternative but to seek a home

among the communities which had been founded here by other nations. A long time seems to have elapsed before much of a disposition to leave the fatherland showed itself. The emigration mania had not, at that time, seized the German mind. No considerable body of Germans found their way to America until 1683, almost two hundred years after its discovery. Such individuals or families as had previously come hither became dispersed almost imperceptibly among the Dutch, Swedes and English. They were sporadic pioneers, who were followed by no immediate re-enforcements or regular accessions. Of a German Lutheran Church or pastor we have no record until the eighteenth century. Destined to be the strongest element in the development of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, they were the last in coming.

When the stream of German emigration began at last to flow in some force, it brought not Lutherans, but Quakers, the fruits of Penn's missionary activity in Germany for several years before he founded his famous colony. Along with those who had avowed the peculiar tenets and practices of the Quaker religion prior to their crossing of the Atlantic, came a number of others who had no small measure of sympathy with them, and who had been carried away by the tide of religious extravagance and fanaticism which marked the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries: Mennonites, Mystics, Chiliasts, representatives of the "Awakened" and of the "Inspired," Ultraists and Separatists of every kind. It was a motley Babel-host, with singu-

lar and strong affinities,—malcontents who had these features in common, that, like the Quakers and New England Puritans, they were hostile to the dominant confessional orthodoxy, were identified with the conventicles of the "Awakened," and repudiated the State Churches, from which they, in turn, suffered cruel persecutions. Unquestionably, a mixture of these fanatical sects and sectaries formed the preponderating element in the earliest German emigration to this country. Some of them had been roaming from place to place in their native land, and having learned that in the trans-atlantic Province of William Penn no one was molested for his religious faith, they hastened to this asylum in the wilderness, destined to be the Paradise of all extravagances, and the fertile nursery of all "isms."

Somewhat later, in 1734 and 1735, these were followed by the Schwenkfeldians and Herrnhuter, the Separatists, thus, for some time, especially in Pennsylvania, outnumbering the adherents of the Lutheran and Reformed Confessions. But little trace of these is to be found until they had attained sufficient numbers and strength to call pastors. The Reformed had, in this respect, the start of the Lutherans, a pastor, Rev. George Michael Weiss, having been sent to them by the Palatinate Consistorium in 1727. The first Lutherans who came from Germany, either as individuals or in bodies, were evidently scattered over a wide extent of territory, and it is doubtful whether they contributed directly to the establishment of the Church. The formation of congregations, it is certain, proceeded slowly and gradually, and in

the beginning of the eighteenth century they were both "few and weak."

The first German Lutheran congregation organized within the limits of the present area of the United States, was, undoubtedly, that of Falckner's Swamp (New Hanover), on the Manatawney, in Montgomery County, Penn. Its first pastor was Rev. Justus Falckner, a man around whose name clusters more than ordinary interest. He belonged to a family of clergymen in Germany, his grandfathers on both sides and his father being Lutheran ministers, and he had himself been educated at Halle, under Francke, for the sacred office. On the completion of his studies, he turned away from it with strong aversion, and in 1700 accompanied his brother to America, where both of them held a power-of-attorney as land-agents for William Penn. It was while making a sale of some lands to the Swedes that he came to regret his decision against entering the ministry,—a change traceable no doubt to the Christian zeal and spiritual influence of his Swedish brethren in the faith.

Thus by the guiding hand of a gracious Providence this gifted and learned man, who had fled from his father's house to escape from the ministry to which he had been consecrated by parents and friends, now voluntarily assumes its responsibilities, and devotes his talents to the saving of his countrymen whom he found languishing in spiritual destitution. His name is honored as that of the first pastor of the first German Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. He was likewise the first Lutheran minister ordained in this country, his ordination being conducted in the

Swedish Church at Wicacoa, November 24, 1703, by the three Swedish Pastors, Rudman, Björk and Sandel, who, although they had unquestionably inherited the boon of Apostolic succession—whatever that may be—held it in so little estimation, that they proceeded to the ordination of a man to the sacred office without any imposition of Episcopal hands. The Archbishop of Upsala had wisely authorized these Presbyters to perform such ordinations in his absence. Had the Presbyters of the Anglican Church been similarly empowered by their Bishops, the growth of the Episcopal Church in the colonies would have made a showing very different from that which has passed into history. Pastor Falckner proved a zealous and worthy minister, one of the purest and most efficient of the earlier ministers in the American Lutheran Church. He went after a brief pastorate to New York where he ministered to many people, and in 1723 closed his earthly labors with congregations which he had organized in New Jersey.

The settlement known as Falckner's Swamp was probably founded before 1700. The date of the erection of the first house of worship is unknown. In 1719 fifty acres of ground were donated for the use of church and school, but buildings for these purposes may have been previously erected.

A considerable tide of Lutheran emigration from Germany began to pour into these shores early in the eighteenth century. Large numbers came hither in 1711, 1717 and the years immediately ensuing, and the whole period from 1702 to 1727 was marked by large accessions to the Lutheran population. On June 13,



WARTBURG SEMINARY, DUBUQUE, IOWA.

1710, as many as four thousand landed in ten vessels at New York, after a voyage of frightful hardships from which several hundred had perished on the way. These were fugitives from the Palatinate for whom the sympathies and munificence of Queen Anne had provided not only shelter, clothing and food in England, but also free transportation to the New World with subsistence on the way and princely domains for their occupation. These Palatines were the first Lutherans whom religious persecution drove to these shores.

Their history is one of tragic interest. Within a single generation their beautiful country, one of the fairest and most fertile regions of Europe, had been thrice devastated by the armies of Louis XIV., who laid claim to the succession on behalf of his brother the Duke of Orleans. In these persistent and ruthless aggressions of a foreign and Catholic sovereign, the country was overrun by a barbarous soldiery that knew no pity for old men or delicate women or sucking children; and when it was found impossible to hold what had been conquered Louis gave command to have the country turned into a desert. "The French commander," says Macaulay, "announced to near half a million of human beings that he granted them three days of grace. Soon the roads and fields which then lay deep in snow, were blackened by innumerable multitudes of men, women and children flying from their homes. Many died of cold and hunger; but enough survived to fill the streets of all the cities of Europe with lean and squalid beggars, who had once been thriving farmers and shopkeepers.

Meanwhile the work of destruction began. The flames went up from every market place, every hamlet, every parish church, every country seat, within the devoted provinces. The fields where the corn had been sown were ploughed up. The orchards were hewn down. No promise of a harvest was left on the fertile plains where had once been Frankenthal. Not a vine, not an almond tree, was to be seen on the slopes of the sunny hills round what had once been Heidelberg." Mannheim, Worms and Spire met the same fate. They were reduced to ashes. The very hospitals and orphanages were sacked. The provisions, the medicines, the pallets on which the sick lay, were destroyed. Protestant worship was broken up and the churches were turned over to Roman Catholic priests.

These atrocities and horrors which extended over the whole Rhine region, threw Germany into frenzy and called forth the execration of Europe. But the universal cry for vengeance brought no relief. A few years later the Duke of Lorges, invading the country found that, after its two merciless devastations, there was still something left to destroy, and the work of demolition, the butchery of peaceful citizens and the outrage of their wives and daughters were once more resumed. The treaty of Ryswick (1697) stipulated that the French must evacuate the country, but also that the ecclesiastical usurpations of the Catholics should be maintained throughout the portion of country which they held. Hence the Catholic princes who now ruled the country denied the Protestants the free exercise of their religion, robbed them of their

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churches and through Jesuit intrigue, armed force and inhuman cruelties, threatened the very existence of the Evangelical Churches, Reformed as well as Lutheran.

Under the stress of their misery many thousands of the inhabitants, in many cases entire villages, the pastor and flock, farmer, vine-dresser, merchant, mechanic and miner, stripped of their all and forced by their sufferings to snap every bond that held them to their native land, fled to the hospitable shores of Protestant England. They were joined by numbers from Baden, Würtemberg, Hesse and the surrounding countries. The arrival of such a host of impoverished refugees created some alarm and dissatisfaction with the government which had quartered them in a camp like an army. But English beneficence and humanity triumphed. The Queen took them under her personal protection and in course of time they cheerfully accepted Her Majesty's munificent proposal for their transportation and settlement in America, where it was confidently expected their thrifty and peaceable habits would render them a valuable accession to her colonies. A large fund collected for them through private contributions in England was afterwards forwarded, and for this we may assume they found ample use.

They had been preceded both in England and America by some of their own countrymen, who had been moved to emigrate from the Rhine countries, both by the torn and wretched condition of the fatherland and by the alluring prospects which vague reports and American emigration agents held up be-

fore their eyes. A Lutheran minister by the name of Joshua von Kocherthal, accompanied by his family and sixty-one others, had under great difficulties succeeded in making his way to England. They were made subjects of the British crown and then shipped to America, supplied with mechanical implements and with one year's subsistence, while the Queen donated twenty pounds for the support of the pastor and five hundred acres of land "for the maintenance of a Lutheran minister and his successors forever." They arrived in New York near the close of the year 1708 and were settled on the West shore of the Hudson in the vicinity of what is now Newburg, where more than two thousand acres of land were divided between them.

The peculiar and indescribable trials which such a colony must inevitably experience in temporal interests, were aggravated in this case by religious discord. When nineteen of the little congregation withdrew as Pietists, the others proposed to withhold from them the relief which the authorities had provided for them in their poverty, but when the Reformed pastors of New York had by an official investigation ascertained that this Pietism was no damnable heresy, the government ordered them to be also included among its beneficiaries. In 1709 Pastor Kocherthal obtained free passage to England in order that he might lay the distress of the people upon the heart of the Queen, who accorded him a favorable reception and granted him substantial aid for the material prosperity of his people. The measure of their religious prosperity can be judged, in part at least, by the char-

acter of the pastors, who served them with more or less regularity after the decease of Kocherthal in 1719. Falckner had charge of them for some time in connection with the Dutch churches at New York and Albany. Rev. W. Christopher Berkenmeier, a man of ability, learning and excellent character, ministered to them between 1725 and 1732, and after that, Rev. Michael Christian Knoll visited them three times a year, receiving as compensation for this service thirty bushels of wheat. Of their valuable church property they were, in later years, fraudulently dispossessed by the Episcopalians, who fifty years afterwards suffered similar treatment at the hands of the Presbyterians.

Upon the arrival of the large body of South Germans in 1710, the greater portion of them went northward, where Governor Hunter allotted to them some six thousand acres of land, which he had purchased from Livingston's Manor, a large tract now embraced in Dutchess and Columbia counties, and also an equal area on the West bank of the Hudson immediately opposite. This land, heretofore unimproved, they were to hold and cultivate as tenants, and the government expected large returns from their thrifty toil. They soon found themselves in the clutches of hard masters and their condition was but little better than the Egyptian slavery of the Israelites. They were placed under overseers, and in order to satisfy the inordinate selfishness and rapacity of Livingston they were subjected to cruel and most unrighteous extortions. These wrongs and hardships drove them to discontent and resistance. They might as well have endured in their native land the sword of the French

and the oppression of the Jesuits. Under the tyranny of the unprincipled men who held them in their power no development or improvement was possible. Insupportable trials offered them no future. The boasted asylum of the oppressed became to them a land of hard bondage.

Soldiers were called out to reduce them to measures. But they knew to oppose force with force, and with weapons in their hands demanded a removal of their grievances. From this time on they were treated like rebels. Wearying of their wrongs and their slavery, the majority, preferring the wilderness inhabited only by savages to the pitiless maltreatment of their Anglo-Saxon oppressors, abandoned in the course of three years the soil which they had redeemed from the wild. In the dead of winter and amid terrible exposure and sufferings, they moved farther northward into the Schoharie region where a large and fertile tract had been ceded to them by certain Mohawk Indians with whom they had held a conference in London. Governor Hunter sternly forbade their removal to this section, threatened to punish them as rebels, pursued them with threats of vengeance and attempted even to excite against them the Indians, who had given them a cheering welcome and who remained their constant and devoted friends. Long ago, they urged, this land had been surrendered by them to Queen Anne expressly for the occupation of the Germans. When citizens of Albany sought to hem them in by buying up the land around them, the Indians quickly sold the whole of it to the Palatines for three

hundred dollars, and in other ways, as far as in them lay, these heathen natives came to their relief.

The people encountered for awhile in their new settlement difficulties and privations that beggar description. They were wanting in everything necessary for keeping house or cultivating the soil, clothing, furniture, implements, cattle. A number of them succeeded in buying jointly an old gray mare which had to make the round of the colony. Salt had to be brought from Schenectady, nineteen miles, and from the same point was carried on the shoulders of one of their number the first bushel of wheat. This bushel it is said, brought forth the following year the incredible yield of eighty-three bushels. It is a type of the prosperity which rewarded their hunger, exposure and toil. They lived at peace with each other and with their wild neighbors, but the few Reformed Hollanders, who in considerable affluence resided here and there close to them, showed for a long while great contempt for these poor Lutheran Palatines and Swabians. Although blest with the sight and the services of a minister only once or twice a year, they assembled on Sundays and edified one another as well as they could through God's Word and the Songs of Zion. They were of course without any civil ruler. "Every one did what was right in his own eyes; they hunted with the Indians, they attempted also to teach their wild neighbors the arts of peace; the forest fell and yielded its place to the waving grain; the busy streams were employed in advancing the useful operations of the mill; seven villages, small but thrifty, rose beneath their industry and ministered to

their social enjoyment, whilst the long seasons of labor were occasionally relieved by manly sports, by innocent and temperate amusements. They felt secure, too secure, in the possession of their ground. The law of nature, the law of nations, they said, would protect them in the enjoyment of the territory they had redeemed from the wilderness and improved at the cost of their own sweat and blood."

Alas! for their simplicity, their ignorance of the ways of the world, and their blind confidence in the supposed promises and engagements of the Queen. The cunning and greed alike of the Dutch and the English soon subjected them, both under the pretense of law and in open violation of it, to a series of outrages and robberies which dismembered this their second settlement, and sent many of them adrift again into a more distant wilderness.

Supposing the Indians to have been the sole possessors of the soil, they were satisfied with the conveyance executed by the tribe. It never occurred to them that it was necessary to obtain patents or title-deeds from the Royal Governor of New York, and the absence of these proved fatal to their security and their hopes, and without any previous intimation of the crafty designs of the rapacious speculators who dispossessed them, the very soil which they had purchased and with severe toil and self-denial had made productive and habitable, was fraudulently sold beneath their feet.

Smarting under a sense of great wrongs and outright robbery they at first threatened resistance by force of arms. At last they concluded to deputize

three of their number to carry their appeal to the home government at London. Arriving there after a succession of most trying experiences and finding themselves helpless, without friends or advisers, they had to see two years pass by before they succeeded, through the assistance of the German Lutheran court preachers, in getting their cause before the ministry for the colonies. They pleaded that at least some indemnity should be allowed them. But all was in vain. Their grasping enemies had anticipated them and secured a favorable decision. Their case was lost. They were wantonly deprived of their property, their homes, their all. Avarice, fraud, cunning, triumphed over simplicity, uprightness and honest labor.

Some of the unfortunate people, yielding to the inevitable, contented themselves with leasing their own farms from those who now had to be recognized as the lawful proprietors, and remained accordingly in Schoharie. A large company set out further west, and as if fleeing from the robberies and violence of civilization plunged once more into the depths of the wilderness. Led by an Indian guide we find them in 1723 following the course of the Susquehanna and amid terrible ordeals penetrating the heart of Pennsylvania, going southward as far as the mouth of the Swatara, a few miles below what is now Harrisburg. From thence they made their way by irregular wanderings up the waters of that stream till they came to the Tulpehocken region, a few miles northeast of the present Reading where, in a beautiful valley, in fair and free and fruitful Pennsylvania, though still among the Indians, they found

rest for their feet. They were soon followed by others and in 1729 they were joined by Conrad Weiser, whose father had been their chief leader in Schoharie, and who himself was to play a conspicuous and honorable part in the progress of the Germans and the development of the Church in Pennsylvania—not to speak of his memorable services as an interpreter for the Indians with whom he had spent a year of his youth in the Mohawk valley.

The outrages suffered by the Palatines were rumored abroad and the tide of German emigration was in consequence turned away from New York. To this it is doubtless owing, in a measure at least, that the Church never attained in that state the growth and strength that have long marked it in Pennsylvania, which on account of various attractions remained for years the desired haven for the Germans, who are ever seeking a better country.

Of the large host that arrived in New York in 1710 numbers went directly to Pennsylvania, drawn thither by the kindness, peaceableness and worldly thrift of the Friends. Some of them "with a capacity for easy adaptation to their new circumstances assumed the garb, the manner, and at length even the faith of the Quakers." A considerable colony of Palatines settled New Berne, N. C., in the same year.

Thus by a variety of circumstances, personal preferences, disappointments, disasters, providential dealings, it happened that these four thousand Germans, with their natural increase, were scattered broadcast throughout the land. "They grow with the growth of New York and Philadelphia; they cultivate the soil

on the flats of the Hudson; they are faithful tenants in Schoharie; they subdue and enliven the wilderness of Pennsylvania along the Tulpehocken and Swatara." To the establishment of the Church they could under the circumstances contribute directly but very little. Unlike their Swedish brethren they came without pastors and religious teachers to watch over their souls, they lived in constant uncertainty and insecurity, they were harrassed by pinching poverty and by the continual aggressions of unprincipled men who had the countenance of the authorities. Amid their perils, their unsettled state, and their helplessness, it must have been impossible for them to erect sanctuaries in the desert, and although they came hither as the beneficiaries of a munificent and Christian Queen, those along the Hudson and in Schoharie were not permitted for twenty years to welcome amongst them a pastor of their own, or "to unite in public worship within any enclosure more dignified than a barn or a hovel of frame work."

There was here undoubtedly a will, but no way. How could they build churches when wandering to and fro year by year and fighting against hunger and wild beasts, against the oppressions of those in power and the brutalities of their spoilers? That some of these South Germans did not remain constant in their faith and either became indifferent to religious principle or were merged into some of the sects which then already swarmed here, may be taken for granted. A number of them, as was noted above, were drawn in Philadelphia into the meeting of the Quakers. For the most part, however, they were firmly established in

Lutheran doctrine and at heart desirous of transmitting it, pure and complete, to their children. Those who remained in New York, where the Dutch Lutherans now had their own worship unmolested, united promptly with their brethren though of a different language, and joined heartily and actively in the efforts to build up the Lutheran Church. Opportunity alone was wanting for those who settled temporarily along the Hudson and elsewhere, to give substantial expression to their faith and zeal. We have reason to believe that the devotion of the closet was not neglected, that with many, in default of public religious privileges, there was maintained a church in the house and the children were reared in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. In the traditions that have been preserved we see the young man thirsting for God in the desert, prizing his Bible above all worldly treasures, and drawing solace and sustenance from its promises while suffering cold and hunger in an Indian wigwam. And along side of this is the scene of the sire in extreme old age extolling the grace of God in Christ Jesus and moving others to tears by his attestation of the quickening power of "the old Evangelical Lutheran doctrine," and the effectual connection of the Spirit of God with his Holy Word.

We know also that Christian friends in England had generously furnished them with Bibles, hymn-books and copies of Arndt's "True Christianity,"—that incomparable volume which has for generations served as a daily chaplain in thousands of Lutheran homes—and herein they found the spiritual nourishment which they craved in their hearts, the means of

refreshment in their hours of rest and devotion. Along with these household ministrations of grace, the instincts of Christian consciousness led them often, even in the absence of preachers, to assemble for general edification and for united prayer and praise.

Considerable streams of German Lutheran immigration continued, during successive years, to flow into the country. But the experience of former settlements in the province of New York diverted the main current towards Pennsylvania, although some subsequent arrivals again went northward and joined themselves to the remnants of the Palatine communities. For the most part these were people of religious earnestness and of devoted attachment to the Lutheran Church. "From the Palatinate, from Würtemberg, from Darmstadt, and other portions of Germany, they came, having one Lord, one faith, one baptism. Many of them sought and found a home in Philadelphia and vicinity, and, although unable in their poverty either to build church or schoolhouse, or even to secure the ground for such an object, they nevertheless maintained the unity of the faith, and hopefully awaited a more prosperous day."

One of the most interesting and clearly determined colonies of Lutherans, that were founded during the colonial period in America, was that of the Salzburgers, who were settled in what is now Effingham county, Georgia, just a year after the first English settlement under General Oglethorpe. They had been driven from their native land by remorseless persecution. Their story touched the heart of Europe and it has furnished pathetic and tragic material to the historian

and the poet, who vie with each other in describing the journey of their exile "under God's free sky, as they move along over the roads which his good angels have thrown up for them."

The evangelical doctrines of the Reformation had at an early period penetrated the mountainous territory of the Archi-episcopal See of Salzburg. Staupitz, the spiritual father and noble friend of Luther, had there ended his days. Eminent Lutheran preachers had zealously proclaimed the Gospel among the people, and many copies of the German Bible, the Augsburg Confession and Luther's Small Catechism, had made their way into the valleys and cottages of that region. The tortures of religious persecution were employed to suppress these innovations. Preachers were driven off or imprisoned. One was beheaded. Yet the revived faith of the Gospel continued to grow and to spread, sometimes strengthened by the resistance it encountered, sometimes advancing peaceably while the barbarous procedures for the repression of Lutheran "heresy" were for a season suspended. "About the end of 1684, the Archbishop Grandolf issued an edict, driving out of the country in mid-winter all Protestants refusing to be converted, and requiring fathers and mothers to leave behind them all children under fourteen years of age, that they might be brought up in the Roman Catholic religion." Several of his successors had resort to less rigorous measures.

In 1727, Leopold Anton, an avaricious, reckless, hardened sensualist, ascended the Archi-episcopal throne. In the heat of a drunken fit, he one day

swore that he would drive the heretics out of the land, even if thorns and thistles should overgrow their fields. He was equal to Herod in keeping his oath. The cunning arts of the Jesuits were first employed to ferret out such as privately held to the evangelical faith, and then by all kinds of persuasives, by "every theatrical art," it was sought to attract them peaceably back to Catholicism. The policy of cunning passed imperceptibly into one of violence. Bibles and other devotional books were taken from them and the rosary and scapulary forcibly put in their place. Such as refused them were treated as rebels, punished by fines, dragged about in irons, and thrown into horrible prisons, and many hundreds of them forced to fly from house and home.

The Protestant powers of the empire were invoked in their behalf, but notwithstanding their tardy intervention, insult, outrage and violence continued to be heaped upon them. The distress of their situation at last forced them to unite in a compact for life and death. On a certain Sunday in August, 1731, about one hundred men, from every mountain defile, wended their way over rocky paths to a market village, where they seated themselves around a table on which was placed a vessel of salt. "Each man, with earnest prayer, dipped the wetted fingers of his right hand into the salt, and lifting them toward heaven took a solemn oath. To the true, Triune God they swore never to desert the evangelical faith, and then swallowed the salt as if it had been sacramental bread." This of course exasperated the Archbishop yet more. The Lutherans were charged with conspiracy, and

Austrian troops were brought into the country and quartered upon them. At the same time all the passes were guarded and emigration was made a crime.

Two months later this policy was reversed. Emigration was made compulsory and that under circumstances of inhuman cruelty. All persons in the country not permanent residents, all farmers without political rights, and all day-laborers and house-servants who adhered to the Augsburg Confession or to the doctrine of the Reformed, were required under heavy penalties to leave the country within one week. Such as were owners of houses or land were allowed from one to three months, at the end of which they were to be outlawed and declared stripped of all right, both of property and citizenship. "Only those who, within fifteen days, should repent of their errors and abjure them, and should formally return to the Romish Church were offered mercy." There was no help against these atrocious proceedings. All the protests and threats of Protestant Europe were unavailing. From December, 1731, to November, 1732, the exiles, aggregating probably thirty thousand souls, might be seen in numerous companies and at various intervals fleeing from the land of their birth, and wandering, many of them knew not whither. Though meeting with opposition and insult wherever they touched on Catholic territory, this abuse was more than equalled by the kindness and sympathy shown them everywhere by their Lutheran brethren.

"Men came to honor in them the martyrs of the truth, the instruments of God who were called again

to awaken a dead Christianity, a leaven to move the sluggish mass of Evangelical Protestantism; and the more favorable the reports concerning the patience with which they bore their fate, the beautiful, quiet order of their marches, their exemplary deportment in the cities and in their quarters, and the evangelical spirit which they everywhere displayed, the higher rose the common enthusiasm for them, and the stronger became the desire to provide for them and to do them good. Their march, therefore, through Germany," continues Hagenbach, "assumed the form of a triumphal procession. When they approached a city, the clergy, the youth of the schools, and representatives of the burghers went out to meet them, and in procession escorted them into the city amid songs and the ringing of bells. Divine service was celebrated, addresses and sermons were delivered in honor of them; they were celebrated in poems, medals were struck in their memory, and feasts, simple but hearty, were prepared for them. Men strove for the honor of having them in their houses and entertaining them. Each person wanted one or more of the Salzburgers under his own roof, and wished to hear him at his own fireside recount the wonderful leadings of God and the adventures which he and his companions had experienced; and then to what a height did wonder rise when the host and his family, in these conversations, perceived how deeply these unlearned people were versed in the Bible, and how skillful they were in the explanation of doctrine, and in reproof, and edification."

It was in fact their familiarity with the divine Word

and their steadfast faith in its Author that had marked them for the fires of persecution. And it was not only in their flight from the oppressor that men saw a parallel to the exodus of Israel from Egyptian bondage, but in the marvellous deliverances and preservations which the hand of Jehovah so manifestly accorded them, and which to their devout imagination were as clearly miraculous as the manna in the desert and the fountain bursting from the rock.

Various countries opened their gates to welcome these fugitives, but the greater portion accepted the royal invitation of Prussia, whose noble king, Frederick William I., after having satisfied himself of their agreement in faith with the Augsburg Confession, "from royal Christian pity and heartfelt sympathy extended them a loving hand" of welcome into his country in the day of their trouble and banishment. Berlin became accordingly their general rendezvous. Their reception was indeed most friendly and cheering. They were greeted with acclamations of joy and well provided for both spiritually and temporally. "The king met them at the Leipsic gate, bade them be of good courage, and gave them a hearty welcome as beloved children of his country." The queen entertained them in the castle-garden and presented them with Bibles and money. It is said that King William was greatly surprised at the definite scriptural answers he received when addressing to them religious questions. "He asked a boy of fourteen years of age, who on account of his faith had left his father and mother, how he could answer for his conduct. The boy said, "He that loveth father and mother

more than me is not worthy of me." The king then asked how he expected to get along without his parents. The boy answered promptly, "When my father and mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up."

Some of the Salzburg exiles passed on to Holland, some sought a home in Sweden, some in England, while others in their wanderings looked with longing eyes beyond the Atlantic for a land of promise. There the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia "were providing a home for the indigent population of Great Britain. The distress of the Salzburgers moved this body to extend to them also a refuge, and their benevolent consideration provoked" the Society for the Propagation of Christian knowledge to take an active interest in their removal to Georgia. They were provided with free passage across the sea. Parliament voted a liberal grant to the Georgia colony and a fund of several thousand pounds was raised by contributions to enable the "Trustees to carry out their generous designs for the Salzburgers."

These noble expressions of Christian humanity and liberality were largely brought about through the agency of the Senior Lutheran pastor at Augsburg, the Rev. Samuel Urlsperger, who had himself been a sufferer for conscience' sake, and who, after showing them great personal kindness when on their march, they halted and refreshed themselves among the Lutheran people of that city, exerted himself to bring their cause to the attention of the London Society above named. And let it here be noted with emphasis that Urlsperger of Augsburg, G. A. Francke of

Halle, who was a member of the London "Society de Propaganda," etc., and the Court Chaplain Ziegenhagen, at London, were not only largely instrumental in securing the assistance which brought the Salzburger across the Atlantic, but that, to their Christian piety and missionary zeal, more than to any other human agency, is due the founding of the Lutheran Church in this country. Of the noblest examples of Halleian pietism, bound together by the ties both of personal friendship and of the strongest spiritual affinity, they alike had a heart for the trials of their countrymen and brethren in the faith who were separated by the sea from the communion of their Church, and an enlightened forecast of that Church transplanted to the American wilderness. Their apostolical interest in these feeble American communities and their co-operation with each other secured not only substantial aid from Germany and England for successive emigrations, but also a number of spiritually-minded, cultured and faithful shepherds to care for the exposed and forlorn flocks in the desert. Without this patronage and the unity of spirit and action which it prompted, they might have sunk into utter spiritual destitution and oblivion.

Under the promise of liberal grants of land and of support until they could derive subsistence from the soil, a company of ninety-one Salzburger embarked for America, landing at Charleston, in March, 1734. They were accompanied by two pastors, John Martin Bolzius and Israel Christian Gronau, both of whom had been pupils at Francke's Orphan House in Halle,

and had been educated for the pastoral office at the university. They were chosen for this mission by Francke and Urlsperger, and proved wise, efficient and faithful bishops, rich in the personal experience of grace, fervent in Christian zeal, and abundant in labors.

General Ogelthorpe, a name which Bancroft pronounces a synonym for "vast benevolence of soul," gave them a cordial welcome to his colony, offered them kindly and valuable counsel, and became their constant benefactor and patron, so that these pastors subsequently testified: "He bears great love to the servants and children of God." A "corps of observation" selected for them a district in the interior, thirty miles from Savannah, a choice which was altogether satisfactory to the exiles. "Arriving upon the ground with their wives and their little ones, they set up a rock; they broke the silence of the wilderness as they sang a hymn of praise; they sought the blessing of the Lord with the earnest voice of prayer; and they erected a memorial to the goodness of God displayed in their deliverance by naming their settlement 'Ebenezer,' or 'Hitherto the Lord has helped us.'"

Accessions came from time to time, enlarging the settlement and strengthening its spiritual condition. A second company, numbering fifty-seven, arrived early in 1735. The favorable reports concerning the Salzburgers stimulated the enterprise of the "Trustees," and in October, 1735, they fitted out two ships for Georgia laden with emigrants. Among these were about eighty Salzburgers. Their voyage has become famous from the presence of Oglethorpe and

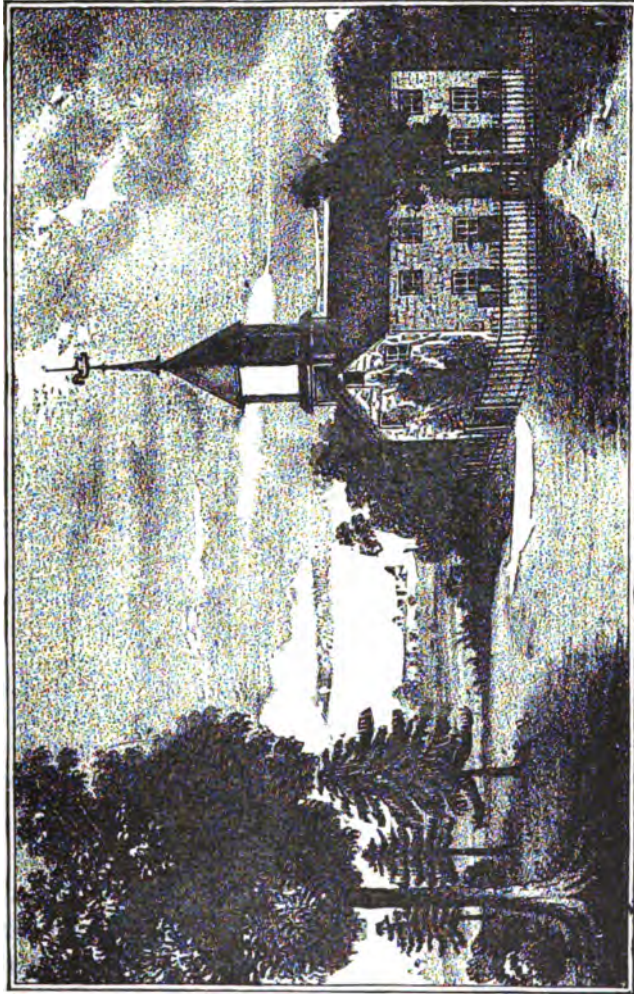
the two Wesleys in the company, and the profound impression which was made upon John Wesley by the calmness, the childlike confidence, the heroic spirit and the joyful singing of these Lutherans during a storm when every other heart was quaking and some were almost dead with terror. Wesley's religious experience had not reached the stage of filial faith and joy, and the fortitude and cheerfulness of these people, manifested in calm or tempest alike by men and women and children, were a revelation to Wesley which became a blessed factor in the development of his own spiritual life and of the society he founded.

The majority of this company united at once with the community at Ebenezer. Others followed year after year, until they numbered, in 1741, a population of more than twelve hundred. They were generally characterized by fervent piety and governed by lofty Christian principle. "No sooner did they take possession of the wilderness than a tabernacle is set up for the Lord. This is speedily followed by provision for the education of the children: then an asylum for the lonely orphan succeeds." It is doubtless for the latter institution that Whitefield, who was greatly touched by the spirituality of these people, is said to have collected money in different parts of the country.

Their pastors justified the wisdom that had selected them. They possessed admirable administrative qualities. They well understood the responsibilities of their position and maintained a careful oversight of the flock. "The fruits of their labor, as they grew and ripened at Ebenezer in peace and industry, in

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moral purity and Christian love, presented to the eyes of strangers and visitors all the appearance of a



JERUSALEM (SALZBURGER) CHURCH, EBENEZER, GA.

field which the Lord hath blessed." "Their town was marked by neatness and pleasantness. No drunken,

no idle, no profligate people were amongst them; industry and harmony prevailed, souls were converted by the word of God, and believers were edified." Bancroft says of them: "They were indeed a noble army of martyrs going forth in the strength of God, and triumphing in the faith of the Gospel under the severest hardships and the most rigorous persecutions. They were marshalled under no banners save that of the cross, and were preceded by no leaders save their spiritual teachers and the great Captain of their Salvation."

Pennsylvania continued to be the "Land of Promise" for German immigrants. Their numbers began to excite serious apprehensions on the part of the civil authorities. The colonial records of that province in 1717 contain an official communication from Governor Keith, stating that great numbers of foreigners, strangers to our language and constitution, are spreading themselves over the country, and warning against the danger of so large an influx of aliens. Another large accession reached the same province in 1727 from Würtemberg, the Palatinate, Hesse-Darmstadt and other German Principalities. No wonder the English settlers and the government became alarmed. These strangers threatened to overwhelm them and were likely soon to gain the ascendancy in the government. Logan, the Secretary of William Penn, complained that the Germans were arriving in such masses that they would ere long form a German colony, and the story of the Saxon Conquest of Britain might repeat itself in the hitherto peaceful domain of the Quakers. The legislative branch of the

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government took fright over the same spectre, and addressed, in 1728, an official warning to the Governor, reminding him that this vast immigration was endangering the peace and security of the state and proposing the inauguration of measures either to prevent or restrict the further importation of foreigners. The Governor sharing their fears, a law prohibiting further immigration was enacted. Not that there was hostility to these people themselves, many of whom it was admitted were industrious, peaceable and well-disposed, but it was the purpose to prevent an English settlement from becoming a colony of foreigners with the predominance of their laws and language. These astute Pennsylvania legislators were however not long in discovering that their fears had gotten the better of their wits. Their attempt to tackle the emigration problem discovered them to be a set of fools. Their enactment against foreigners proved a terrible blow to the prosperity of the infant colony. One year sufficed to abolish all restrictions excepting those against persons who would become a public burden. And but a few years later the very authorities that had been frightened into hostile procedures against their further immigration publicly attested the benefits which the colony was deriving from these industrious Germans who had changed the wild forest into a fruitful garden. The prosperous condition of the colony, Governor Thomas declared, was for the most part due to the industry of the "oppressed protestants from the Palatinate and other parts of Germany"—a testimony which voiced the general estimate of the German settlers of Pennsylvania.

The restrictions to their coming being removed, thousands kept pouring into the colony. In the autumn of 1749 twenty-five ships brought 7049 souls, and for that whole summer the German immigrants numbered 12,000. The following year witnessed another large influx and so succeeding years, especially 1755.

This great influx from Germany was brought about, alas, not by any missionary colonizing of the Church, nor even by any projects of colonial expansion on the part of the State. It was the work of ship companies and their cunning and voracious agents, who carried on a traffic in human souls which was attended with nearly all the abominations and cruelties of the African slave trade. These agents, known as *Neulander*, overran Germany, preaching up emigration to the "New Land" which flowed not only with milk and honey, but with gold and silver, where men could reap without having sown, where the maid-servant became a lady and the ploughman a lord. Operating with such representations upon the simple-minded peasantry, especially upon the poor and oppressed classes, they prevailed upon large numbers to make their way to the ports of Holland where, before sailing, they were compelled to sign a contract in the English language, the purport of which they did not comprehend. They were crowded and packed into vessels even to the verge of suffocation and subjected to such inhuman experiences that during a single year over two thousand of these wretched people died during the passage. Such as survived the untold miseries of the voyage found themselves, on landing at Philadelphia,

at the disposal of the captain of the vessel, who under the hammer of the auctioneer, sold husband, wife, parent, child, to the highest bidder, who in turn held them in servitude according to age and strength, three, six, ten or more years, the proceeds of their sale covering the expense of their transportation.

“Many hardy Germans, having money enough to pay their fare, preferred to sell themselves for a term of years, in order to learn the language and the ways of the country. Others paid half the fare and were sold for the remainder; and some paid the passage of the family by selling one or two of their surplus children into bondage during minority.” This unhappy traffic was of course not restricted to the German population. The number of such bond-servants even in New England is said to have been quite large, while in Pennsylvania every kind of business depended upon the labor of indentured servants. “Many of these were of excellent character and rose to good positions. Some bond-maids were married to those who purchased them. Through industry and frugality some servants acquired wealth and founded families that rose to respectability and honor.”

The papers of the day abound in advertisements offering for sale German immigrants. And the English, Dutch and German residents of Philadelphia, and even some from other colonies, repaired to the newly arrived vessel and selected from the healthy passengers such as they deemed best adapted to their employment. As each member of a family upon their arrival was liable to be purchased by a different party, they often became widely scattered, were kept asunder

through long and weary years of bondage, and doomed in many cases never to see each other's face again. Great masses of helpless people coming hither under such circumstances, evoked the deepest commiseration of their countrymen. Their wrongs and sufferings led to the formation of "the German Society of Pennsylvania," which aimed to provide such legal assistance as might be needed by these foreigners on their arrival to secure their rights, and especially to protect them against the injustice and inhumanity of the sea captains and the shameless treachery of the emigration sharks.

History thus records a rapid increase of the German element in Pennsylvania. About the middle of the century the whole population of the province is set down between 175,000 and 220,000, and of this number fully one-half were Germans. Among these the Lutheran element outnumbered the Reformed two to one. It may safely be asserted that the Lutheran population of Pennsylvania alone, in the year 1750, aggregated the enormous figure of 60,000. A

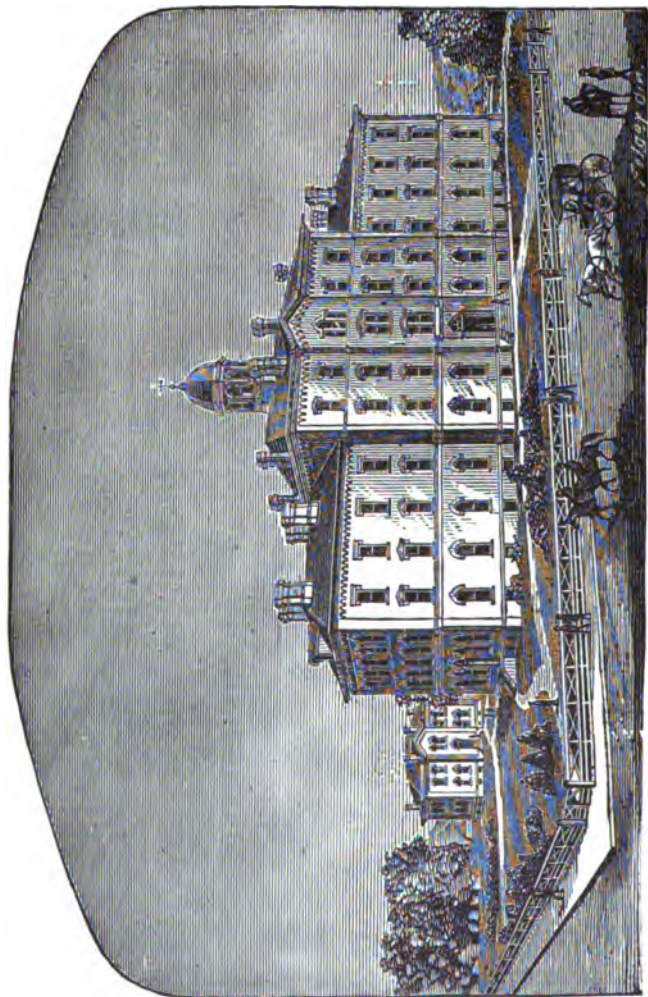
Before the arrival of the Salzburgers, German Lutherans, evidently Palatines, had settled in Charleston, S. C., then a flourishing town. Pastor Bolzius administered the Lord's Supper to them and he and his colleague gave probably the impulse to the formation of a congregation, although with some, their love for the Word and the Holy Sacraments was so great that they concluded to remove to Ebenezer as soon as possible. They were without a regular pastor until 1755, when the Rev. Joh. G. Friederichs was for some years in charge, laying the corner-stone of a

church in 1759. He withdrew shortly after this time and the church was not built till 1763.

The earliest settlement of Germans in that colony falls in the reign of Queen Anne. They occupied various districts in the interior, at the forks of the Saluda and Broad rivers, on the banks of the Congaree and Wateree and along the Savannah, and received large grants of land from the Queen for church and school purposes. Of the Dutch Lutherans on James Island mention has already been made. About 1735, colonies of Germans and Swiss settled in Orangeburg, and organized a Lutheran congregation, the first one in the two Carolinas. With fresh accessions in 1737 came also a pastor, Joh. Ulrich Giesendanner, a native of Switzerland, who had presumably been ordained in that country, but was engaged for a time as teacher of the Halle Orphanage. He was the first Lutheran minister in the Carolinas and served this congregation for a period of ten years, laboring amid great difficulties. A house of worship, built of wood and clay, was erected some time before 1743. Immigration from Germany continued and the entire district was colonized almost exclusively by Germans and Swiss.

Another colony settled, in 1737, in a district formerly called Saxe-Gotha, now Lexington county, about one hundred miles from Charleston. Its numbers were increased by a large influx of their countrymen especially in the years 1744 and 1750. A Reformed preacher had the spiritual oversight of them for some time, but Lutheran settlers, like others in different parts of the same colony, made application to their

brethren at Ebenezer for Lutheran ministrations and for a Lutheran shepherd. The best these could do



CAPITAL UNIVERSITY, COLUMBUS, OHIO.

for them was to send them books for devotional purposes and for the instruction of the young. Still another settlement of German Lutherans was founded

in Abbeville County, S. C., about 1763 and 1764. In some of these districts the Lutherans erected the first churches.

In 1710 two ship-loads of Palatines, numbering altogether six hundred and fifty souls, were colonized by the beneficent Queen Anne in North Carolina, at the confluence of the Neuse and Trent, where in conjunction with a considerable body of Swiss they formed a settlement which was called New Berne. A year later a terrible Indian massacre, instigated by some white wretches, almost exterminated the colony and applied the torch to their humble dwellings. Such as remained suffered, like their countrymen in New York, greater outrages from the white savages than they endured after this time from the Red men. They were for the most part of the Lutheran faith, but they had no pastoral services and no house of worship, and appear to have been gradually absorbed by the Episcopal denomination, which was the religion established by law in the Carolinas.

Some German Protestant families, aggregating fifty in number, settled in 1714 along the Rappahannock river, in what is now Madison County, Va. They were fugitives from the New Berne settlement where the Indians had spread terror and desolation. Twenty families were added to them in 1717. The latter came from the neighborhood of Alsace and the Palatinate, fleeing from the extreme distress which had overtaken those fair countries. The Rev. John Caspar Stoeber found there, in 1733, about three hundred people with an organized congregation, the Hebron Church, of which he reports himself the first pastor,

and says that for sixteen years it had been without a pastor and without the ordinances of public worship.

The seeds of Lutheranism, it seems, were destined to be scattered, even in the earliest period of American history over every portion of the country—a prophecy and a pledge that the Lutheran Church was ultimately to reap a harvest here co-extensive with the length and breadth of this vast domain. On the wild and forbidding coast of Maine a few German emigrants were located in 1739. An accession of forty families from Brunswick and Saxony was welcomed by them in 1740. They entered the harbor of Broad Bay and effected a settlement where the present town of Waldoboro' stands. They had been tempted away from their homes by the siren allurements which cunning speculators offered them in the form of free homes, fertile acres, salubrious climate, governmental protection and provision for the support of their religion—promises which were kept to the ear but broken to the heart. They found a sterile soil, an unbroken forest, savage beasts and more savage men. They suffered incredible hardships and almost perished of starvation. The Indians fell upon them in 1746, reduced their rude but peaceful habitations to ashes, murdered many of the settlers in cold blood, carried the remainder into captivity and turned the whole region into a dreary waste.

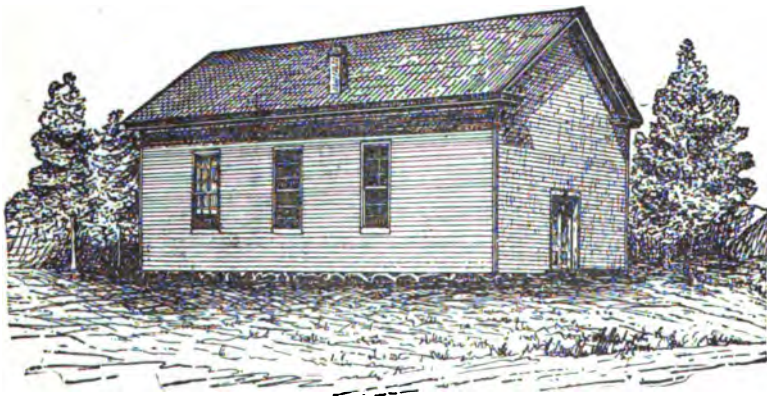
Strange to tell, a few years later the flattering representations of General Waldo succeeded in drawing to this same inhospitable region another body of Germans, as if "the soil that had drunk in the blood of their martyred brethren, was to them consecrated

ground." Some twenty families landed on the bleak coast of Maine late in November, 1751, and public and private charity had to be invoked to provide for their necessities through a New England winter. With the opening of spring they journeyed inland and joined the remnant of their brethren who, after the massacre, had returned to their old possessions at Broad Bay. Moved by the magnificent offers and promises of the "hereditary Lord of Broad Bay," sixty more families soon followed, and it is claimed by the historians of Maine that altogether as many as fifteen hundred Germans emigrated from time to time and settled on the patent of this self-styled "hereditary lord." They were doomed for the most part to a miserable fate. The promises of their so-called patron were left wholly unfulfilled. Numbers arriving in the fall of the year, "they dragged out a winter of almost inconceivable suffering. Many froze to death, many perished with hunger or diseases induced by their privations."

Instead of large tracts being assigned to them severally on the coast, they were taken into the heart of the wilderness, they were left defenceless against the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the Indian. They came into extreme destitution. It is said of one family that they subsisted a whole winter on frost-fish, with only four quarts of meal, "and many a woman did a hard day's work at planting or hoeing for a quart of butter-milk." At last, when under dreadful hardships they had cleared the forest, when they had brought the land under cultivation, when they had erected comfortable shelter for their families, and

their improvements had made the property valuable, these pious, unsuspecting Lutherans discovered that the title to their lands was not valid, and thus what the Indians had spared was to be taken from them by their Christian friends. In this dilemma a number of them repurchased their lands, receiving other deeds, only to be harassed again by the harpies of the law and the greed of inhuman speculators, contrary to every principle of justice and good faith, with no remedy for their grievances and without the least remuneration or indemnity for their losses.

Although some of the colony were adherents of the



ONE OF THE FIRST DANISH LUTHERAN CHURCHES IN AMERICA.

Reformed worship, and some were Moravians, they united with the Lutherans, as soon as they had erected huts for themselves, in building a humble church in a central position. Though without an ordained pastor, they assembled every Lord's Day for public worship. One of their principal men, John Ulmer, took the lead, acted as their minister and really received pay as such from the patron of the colony.

In the first quarter of the eighteenth century German and Dutch Lutherans were found in New Jersey. Congregations were organized at Hackensack, where Dutch Lutherans had settled somewhere about 1680 or 1690, and in Bergen, Hunterdon and Salem Counties, where also the Dutch and German Lutherans were combined.

These churches were for the most part organized by Falckner, for some time the only Lutheran minister in New York and New Jersey. He labored some twenty years in this section, diligently hunting up the settlements of Lutherans and faithfully ministering to them. He was succeeded by Rev. Berkenmeier, who from 1725 to 1732 served all the congregations in that region, bringing some of them to marked prosperity. He in turn was followed by Knoll, Wolf and the ever faithful pastors of the Swedish churches on the Delaware, who though living a hundred miles remote, and overburdened with the cares of their own churches, kept a watchful eye on the German and Dutch congregations in both these provinces, and again and again are seen kindly ministering, in whatever language was required, to these brethren in the faith.

No traces have been found of a Lutheran settlement in Maryland during this period, but a recently discovered letter of Lord Baltimore, written to his agent in 1732, offers in his free colony an asylum to the Palatines and Salzburgers. The reasons for declining this invitation are unknown.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHURCH OF THE DISPERSION.

THE Apostle Peter addressed his first epistle "to the elect who are sojourners of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bythia," (Rev. Vers.) We can have no better definition for the Lutherans who during the first half of the eighteenth century were scattered throughout the "divers provinces and regions" of the New World, all the way from Maine to Georgia. The Germans especially had become numerous. The Palatines had multiplied rapidly both by natural increase and by large reinforcements from the father-land, and they had become dispersed over nearly all the colonies. The German Lutherans, who kept pouring into Philadelphia by thousands upon thousands, were scattered far into the interior, having strong and flourishing communities in Montgomery, Berks, Lancaster and York Counties. Their entire number throughout the country at the middle of the century fell probably but little short of 100,000. The great majority of these lived in Pennsylvania, where they were recognized as a large and notable element of society. In other colonies likewise they made their presence felt, and both by their thrifty ways, their pure morality and their ardent piety attracted the admiration of their neighbors. Dr. Dorchester says: "The German emigration was not only extensive but very pure, and almost wholly Protestant, with a high standard of morality and distinguished for

Christian virtues." They consisted, however, for the most part, not of the great ones of the world.

As among the early Christians "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble," were among them. They sought in this land refuge from the political and ecclesiastical oppressions which had kept them in poverty and misery. It was largely the extremity of their distress, the desperation of souls whom religious persecution and the ravages of war had stripped of their earthly all, that drove them to these hospitable shores. Their coming was emphatically a struggle for existence. And existence is about all that many could boast of for the first generation of their settlement here, numbers of them being content with the servitude of years for their passage which put the sea between them and their oppressors.

There were indeed among them persons from the higher classes, men of influence, of culture and of means, who rendered to their brethren in the faith great services both for their temporal and spiritual welfare. In the case of not a few, industry and frugality gradually brought prosperity and wealth, but the masses of them were not landed proprietors or wealthy merchants. On their arrival they found themselves in an almost unexplored wilderness, in a state of absolute destitution, and a long period must, in the nature of things, elapse before their laborious toil would yield them more than the necessities of a livelihood. Besides the ordinary trials in a wild district which they were the first to settle and subdue, they were subjected to unrighteous maltreatment by

neighbors and officials into whose clutches they had fallen; the tenure to their lands, which their labor and indescribable hardships had cleared and brought under cultivation, was in a number of cases pronounced invalid. Princely domains allotted to them by royal munificence were in turn wrested from them after their improvements had made them valuable. The emigrant runner and the real estate shark, then, as now, seem to have formed an infernal partnership, by which they first lured these people into the desert, and then, after by their pains it had been made to blossom as the rose, they dispossessed them of their homes and despoiled them of their property. One shrinks from portraying the cruelties, the wrongs, the robberies, the harrowing sorrows which were endured by those in whom the doctrines and treasures of our church were first translated into this country.

Although these trials were such as most fully tested her vitality, yet to look for a vigorous upbuilding of the Church under such circumstances would be, to say the least, to expect moral miracles. Such miracles are indeed not unknown, and the depth of her poverty has more than once coincided with the period of the Church's bloom. Yet it is unwarrantable to cite here the rapid development of primitive Christianity; for then the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit supplied those resources which are indispensable to the maintenance of religious ordinances and institutions. A certain proportion of this world's goods is ordinarily necessary for the supply of an adequate ministry, for the provision of places of public worship, and for the education of youth. Inevitably therefore the estab-

lishment and growth of the Church was sadly retarded by the necessitous circumstances and miserable condition of those Lutherans who settled the primeval forests of America. Of material there was no lack. There never has been. Fields white to the harvest are ever calling for Lutheran reapers. The very abundance of the material staggered and overwhelmed the heroic men who sought to rear out of it a Christian church. With all their zeal for their spiritual mother and their love and sympathy for her people, they seem to have deplored and deprecated the continuous streams pouring in, "because they were calculated by their very dependence and helplessness to divide the attentions of the pastors, already overburdened with labors, and to cramp the energies of congregations already established."

A few of the colonies, like the Swedes and Salzburgers, had brought pastors with them, and they organized flourishing congregations immediately upon their arrival, and wherever there were Lutheran congregations served by Lutheran pastors, a church-building and a school-house would soon rise out of the earth. On the shores of the Delaware and in the savannas of Georgia the silence of ages was broken by the songs of Zion, and the joy and prosperity which marked those godly communities show what might have been, had all the Lutheran settlements been supplied from the very first with earnest and faithful ministers. Alas! what might have been in every period of our church in this country, had the supply of the ministry been at all times equal to the demand, had the number of workmen been commensurate with the

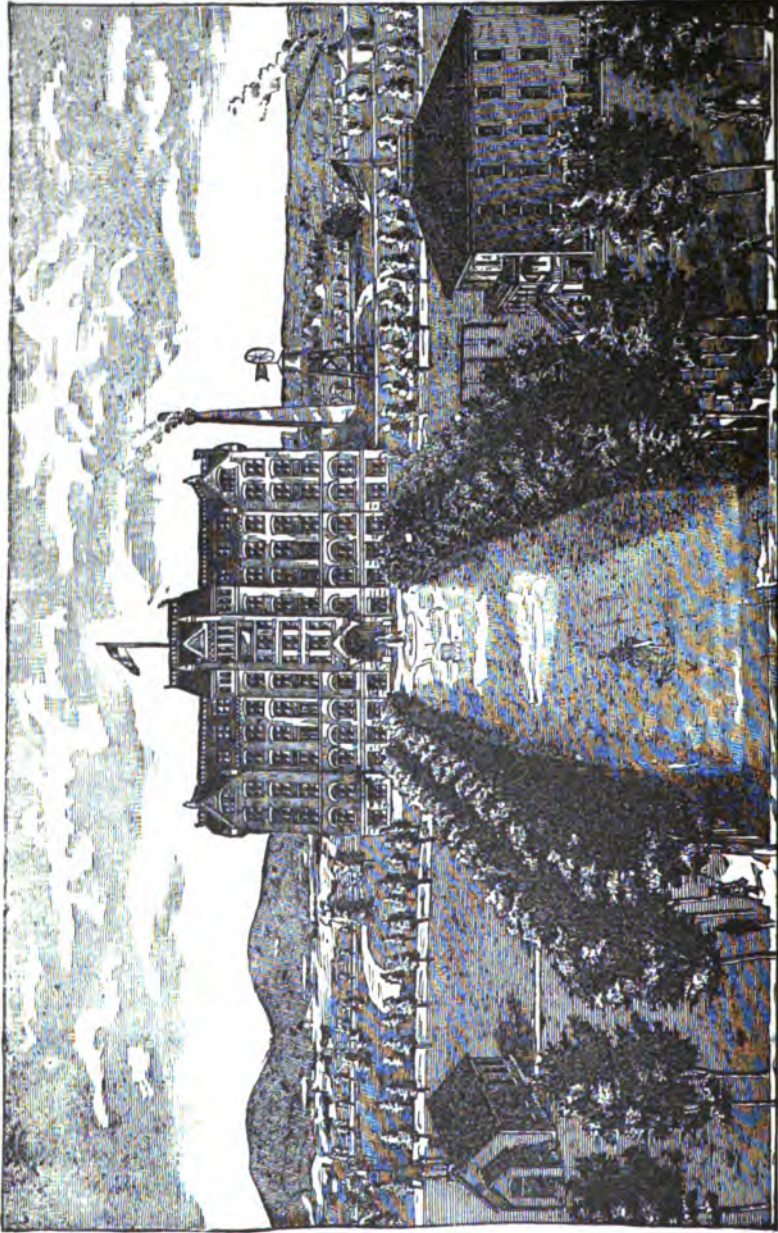
work? Here has been the fatal drawback to the growth of the American Lutheran Church. This has been her vital hurt, her festering sore. From the time, two centuries ago, that her wandering fugitives were scattered over the bleak mountains and trackless forests of this wide new world, down to the closing decade of the nineteenth century, there has never been a period in the Lutheran Church which did not reveal vast numbers of her neglected children over whom the heart must sigh as over lost sheep that have no shepherd. The Church's wants appear always to be multiplying faster than the means of supplying them, the laity increasing in more rapid proportions than the ministry. At the close of the year 1888 statistics show that the average yearly gain of new churches during the last four years is four hundred and sixteen, that of ministers only one hundred and sixty-six.

The temporal condition of these early Lutherans was then but equalled by their melancholy spiritual destitution. The great body had come over the water without any religious instructors, without any organization or formal bond between them, and without any pecuniary means with which either to erect houses of worship or to employ ministers had it been possible to procure any of their language. There was no mission board to care for them. There was no charitable organization in the fatherland to interest the public in their behalf. They had come, too, from the numerous different principalities and governments of Germany, in one of the most gloomy periods of its history, and they were therefore without any bond of

national sympathy or co-operation, but rather alienated from each other and divided by traditional animosities and antipathies, while not a single government in Germany is known to have given either aid, comfort or protection to a solitary company of its suffering emigrants.

Sweden, with the hearty encouragement of its sovereign, forwarded generous assistance to the Lutheran congregations of its American colonists on the Delaware, and supplied them with a continuous succession of able pastors, who brought their churches to a high degree of prosperity. The Dutch, the English and the Scotch extended a large measure of support to the missionaries and congregations of their respective churches in the New World. But the thousands of Germans in Pennsylvania and the adjacent provinces had not a single state government, nor a single church organization to look after their spiritual welfare, and, excepting the active Court-chaplain Ziegenhagen in London, and the noble Francke at Halle, and a few more of their Pietist brethren, there seems to have prevailed universal and absolute indifference among the civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Germany toward the spiritual welfare of their brethren who had emigrated to America.

There were laboring among the dispersed Lutherans of this country, about the year 1735, eight regular ministers. Two of these cared for the flock at Ebenezer. Two Swedish pastors ministered to their countrymen in the little nook around Philadelphia, now embraced partly in the State of Delaware, partly in Pennsylvania. In the province of New York was



BETHANY COLLEGE AND NORMAL INSTITUTE, LINDSEBORG, KAS.

stationed since 1725 Rev. William Christopher Berkenmeier, serving congregations at New York, Albany, Athens, Newberg (Quassaik), and West Camp, besides three in New Jersey, preaching in Dutch, German and English as circumstances required. The congregation in New York was large and prosperous. Although thousands of Lutherans were settled along the Hudson and the Mohawk, and in other parts of the colony and of New Jersey, there was no other regularly ordained minister in all that district. Rev. John Caspar Stoever was with the little colony on the Rappahannock, and another Stoever, a relative of the above, bearing exactly the same name, who came to this country in 1728, was residing at New Holland, Lancaster County, Pa., having for a brief time served the congregations at Philadelphia, Providence and New Hanover. Rev. J. U. Giesendanner was the spiritual shepherd of one of the South Carolina communities. Between these few laborers intervened distances extending hundreds of miles, with no roads connecting the different localities, with no possible means of travel save on horseback, with no protection against the wild beasts that prowled through the forests and no security against the savage who was ever lying in ambush for the white intruder into his hunting-grounds. The large province of Pennsylvania, with a Lutheran population of sixty thousand, had in all its area one solitary German pastor.

Long before this period the Puritans of New England had an average of more than two ministers to a congregation, and all of them men of education, for the most part voluntary exiles from England where

they suffered for their convictions. So far as the care of their own laborious parishes and their knowledge of the language permitted, the Swedish pastors ministered to the little German congregation in Philadelphia and dispensed the gospel occasionally to the numerous surrounding settlements, preaching in groves and barns, and founding churches at Lancaster and Germantown (1730) and at York (1733). From the beginning the most cordial relations obtained between the Swedes and the Germans. The Salzburg pastors extended their ministrations to some of the struggling communities in South Carolina. The Dutch congregation in New York reached out a hand to their destitute German brethren. As far as in them lay, and with as close sympathy as the state of the country permitted, there was co-operation between these sporadic Lutheran beginnings.



TRINITY E. L. CHURCH, LANCASTER, PA.

With almost superhuman labors and hardships ministers traveled from one field to another, most of them able to preach in Dutch, German, Swedish and English. But it was like throwing an occasional crumb to souls at the point of starvation. Irregular services at long intervals are little better than none. The ministrations are too limited and too hasty to leave permanent impressions. The life of a Christian society cannot be maintained by a casual religious service. No church can be established without constant pastoral oversight. No flock can be folded unless it be regularly fed and watched and tended.

It suggests a miracle when we read of one congregation that survived although the Lord's Supper had not been administered in it for eight years. What progress was possible in a case like that of Newberg on the Hudson, whose contract with the pastor stipulates: "We do call, constitute and receive Mr. Wm. Christopher Berkenmeier, for our lawful teacher of the parish of Quassaic, to minister unto us twice a year, as well in the preaching of the Holy Gospel purely according to the Holy Scriptures and the Symbolical Books of our Lutheran Church, as in administering the Holy Sacraments according to Christ's institution, and practicing the usual ceremonies of the fellow-believers of the unalterable Confession of Augsburg." The purest doctrine and the most complete sacramental service twice a year would hardly be adequate for the building up of a live and vigorous Christian congregation. Effective organization under such circumstances was impossible. With others the situation was still more forlorn. They did not for years have

a single service. The children grew up in ignorance, except where parents of extraordinary piety would instruct them in the way of salvation. Whole families in great numbers were left without baptism or religious teaching. Many moved to and fro in the hope of having the advantages of churches and schools.

Besides this absolute lack of Christian institutions and schools, every outward circumstance and influence, as is the case in frontier life to-day, was unfavorable to morality and religion. Where such bulwarks as the church and school are wanting, the forces of evil are sure to become bold and aggressive, and irreligion and immorality overgrow the neglected and uncultivated soil. Because of abounding iniquity the love of many waxed cold. Childhood's instructions were forgotten, the hold of ancestral traditions and influences was weakened, faith for the want of nourishment languished, and many of the lost sheep of the house of Israel, wandering and forlorn, fell a prey to devouring worldliness and ungodliness. Among the Palatines in particular there was a sad declension in spiritual life, and numbers became indifferent to religious principles. In the absence of the Church and the Gospel the knowledge of God faded from their minds.

On others the severe trials to which they were exposed and the sorely felt spiritual privations which they endured, wrought out a very different result. Some had been so deeply rooted and grounded in the doctrines and experience of the Gospel, that the very extremity of their distress only revealed to them the preciousness of their faith and begot in them the pur-

pose of transmitting it uncorrupted to their children. They had not suffered in their native land the loss of all things for their holy religion, now to despise its precepts or its principles in the land of their exile. The consciousness of their salvation in Christ, which sustained them under the horrors of persecution, nerved and cheered them in their poverty and struggles where no one molested them for conscience' sake.

They were mighty in the Scriptures. They had a daily preacher in the large quarto of Arndt's "True Christianity." They could enliven their daily toil with the songs of salvation. They turned their rude homes into a joyful Bethel.

A people grounded like the Salzburgers in the faith of the Gospel, who, amid the most cruel outrages of persecution, were ever occupied with thanksgiving, praises and prayer; whose glowing earnestness and spiritual joy so melted the heart of Germany that their passage through the country was welcomed as the medium for the regeneration of its formalistic and dead churches; who, as they passed down the Rhine "between the castled crags, the vineyards and the white-walled towns that adorn its banks, conversed amid hymns and psalms, of justification," were not in serious danger now of departing from the living God.

The fire upon the altar was kept burning so brightly, and it received such nourishment from the study of God's Word and the use of devotional manuals at the fireside, and from the public services conducted by the laity in many localities, that the cold winds of adversity only heightened and strengthened

the flames. The dreary and cheerless forests of Pennsylvania were lighted up and warmed by the sunbeams of the Gospel and the fervor of Lutheran Pietism.

Such spiritual nutriment as they enjoyed but deepened the craving for a fuller supply. The imperfect administration of divine service, the very occasional delivery of a sermon by a preacher from a remote locality, by one who was perhaps an utter stranger to them and to the very Gospel he proclaimed, kindled in them an ardent craving for the stated enjoyment of the sanctuary, the full fellowship of their church, and the regular dispensation of God's pure Word and the holy sacraments by resident pastors. And they knew whence to look for help. In their distress they called upon the Lord. And they persisted in their prayers with a confidence that is sure of being ultimately heard.

But the preachers of the Word, though receiving their commission from Heaven, never fall from the skies. To organize congregations, build churches and maintain Christian schools, ministers are indispensable. To raise up ministers here in advance of Seminaries or Professors for their training, and where the people were absolutely without means either to found the Seminaries or maintain their instructors, was simply impossible.

In the meanwhile, with nothing in the nature of pastoral care, with no one to direct or defend them, the very fervor of their piety exposed these colonial Lutherans to the greatest spiritual danger. Their eager hunger for the Word prompted them to run for

it where it had been poisoned by heresy and fanaticism, or to accept it from polluted hands. "Where-soever the body is, thither will the eagles be gathered together." Sectists and impostors know their prey, and they know, too, their opportunity. Given, a body of earnest Christian people, disorganized, scattered over vast reaches of country, famishing for the bread of life and weary with toil and privation, and the cunning of the fox and the rapacity of the wolf offer but a feeble comparison for the craft and avidity with which these pounce upon their victims. One of the strongest features which marked the early colonial history of America was that the land was swarming with "innumerable sects." "There is not a sect in the world which is not fostered here," wrote a faithful observer. This was particularly true of Pennsylvania, which was not only founded by a fanatic, but which was avowedly and consistently established as a home for the unconditioned and illimitable freedom of all sects, opinions and parties—a liberty which in our day is celebrated as the ideal state of society, but for which the people of that day, after enduring for ages the restraints of force and authority, were as little prepared as was the French nation in 1789 for the free institutions of a Republic. While, therefore, it is the fashion to laud the principles of tolerance which prevailed throughout the province of the famous Quaker, it serves on the other hand as a dark background, putting in strong relief the terrible havoc produced in the Lutheran and other churches by the rage of rampant and reckless fanaticism. Teaching things which they ought not, perverting the way of

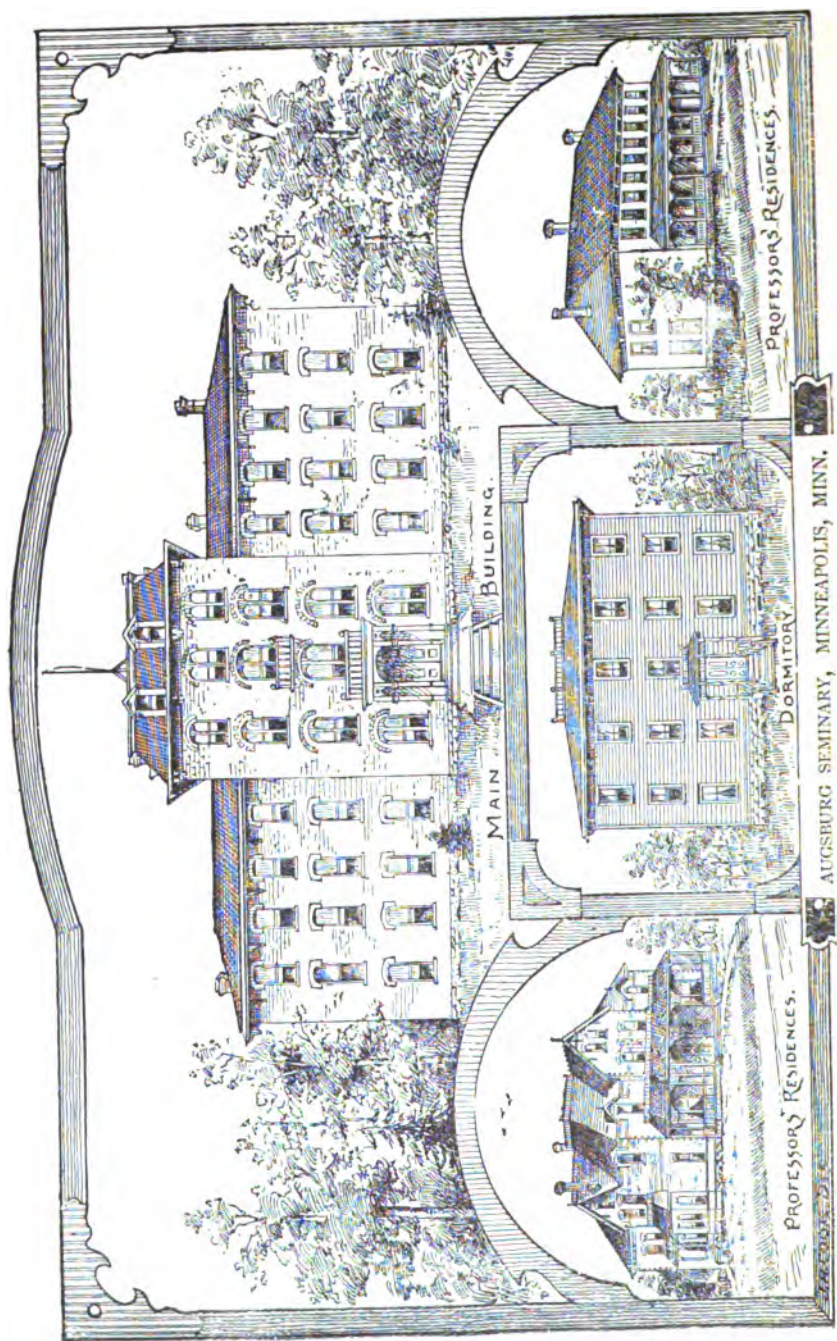
life, rooting up the saving doctrines of grace, clothing error in the garb of sanctimoniousness so as to seduce the simple-minded—they not only “subverted whole houses,” but large communities, misleading the unwary, confounding the unstable, and wresting the Scriptures to the destruction of many souls.

What the wild beast of the field did not devour was wasted by the boar out of the wood. The absence of true pastors, faithful shepherds who give their life for the flock, furnished the opportunity for the thief and the robber, who for filthy lucre’s sake usurp the sacred office. With the melancholy and protracted dearth of men properly fitted for the ministry and regularly ordained, we need not wonder that the land was overrun with clerical vagabonds, irresponsible and wretched pretenders, crafty impostors, ignorant schoolmasters, persons who for scandalous crimes had been deposed from the office in Europe, and others, who, without any concern for the salvation of souls, intruded themselves into this calling from the vilest motives, creating disturbance and confusion among the simple-minded and confiding people, and spreading havoc and desolation everywhere. Instead of gathering together and strengthening what they found, they only tore asunder and scattered such organizations as had been formed, and by their scandalous lives they brought such reproach upon the Lutheran name as to delay—indefinitely, in many communities—the practicability of establishing the Church. In some cases, as the last of a long series of calamities, these wily and wicked impostors entered

in where disorder and confusion already prevailed, and so made that disorder and confusion absolute.

One of the earliest documents on Lutheran history in this country contains the following melancholy passage: "From the very beginning of this century (the eighteenth), and even until the present day, it has been the misfortune of Pennsylvania that many men who had never studied at all, or who had never had any thorough instruction in Christianity and science, or who, even having once occupied the pastoral office in Germany, were deposed and thrust out for their bad conduct, resorted to that fine country, and by flattering speeches and insinuating ways imposed upon private persons and even whole congregations, and so stole into the office of pastor. It is easy to see what a miserable service must be rendered to souls by men who seek only their own profit, and who, as soon as greater gains invite them elsewhere, at once forsake the congregation they had professed to serve. Such hirelings have spread great disorder," etc. (Halle Reports). And another historian, Rev. C. W. Schaeffer, D.D., LL.D., observes: "The Lutheran faith was exposed to reproach by the infamy of those who had forced themselves—uncalled and unqualified—into the pastoral office; and reflecting minds and believing hearts both saw and felt that what ought to be done must be done quickly."

In the depth of their distress they not only made supplication to the Lord, but a piercing cry for help went across the waters. They pleaded most earnestly that faithful and suitable pastors and teachers for themselves and their children might be sent over, and



in most moving terms laid before their friends in the fatherland the lamentable spiritual condition of the people in this country. They sighed for deliverance from the wretched impostors who were laying waste the congregations, from the scheming fanatics who were alluring the unwary and the unstable into the pitfalls of error, and from the strife and distraction which are so natural and so destructive to a people without leaders and without proper organization. Letters of this kind were despatched, from time to time, by different parties to Holland, to Hamburg and elsewhere. Dr. Ziegenhagen, writing in 1734, concerning the Lutherans in America, says; "It is, alas! too true that the Evangelical churches scattered here and there in America, especially in Virginia, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, etc., (American Geography was then in its infancy), are in a very deplorable condition, particularly in regard to the Word of God and the Holy Sacraments, and such appointments as are necessary for proper instruction in the Divine Word and the right administration of the Sacraments. I have received many mournful communications from several of these churches, in which they make the most touching appeals for Bibles, Prayer-books, Catechisms, Pastors and other tokens of our Christian sympathy. They even assert that in consequence of the great lack of the means of grace there is danger that they and their children may relapse into heathenism. I am greatly distressed for the reason that I hardly know what to do by way of relief."

Aye, there was the rub! what to do by way of relief. Here was required wisdom, a knowledge of men, and

a knowledge of the real condition of America. Organization was needed, system, authority. Who was to be sent? and who could say to this one, "go, and he goeth, and to another come, and he cometh?" There were imploring letters, urgent appeals, voluminous correspondence which required months to pass over the sea and then was often overshadowed by distrust and personal ignorance between the correspondents—but, how under such circumstances could deliverance be sent to the children of Israel, groaning in Egyptian darkness if not in Egyptian bondage? Thus, only to add another chapter to the story of their distress, it need not be wondered at that once and again men were sent over who were either wholly unadapted to the peculiar needs of these churches, or who, so far from building up the feeble congregations, did much to destroy and exterminate them—to extinguish what was ready to die.

An example of the former class was the Rev. Michael Christian Knoll, whom the Lutheran ministers of London ordained as a successor to Rev. Berkenmeier in the churches at New York and Hackensack, a man who neither personally nor as preacher could command respect, and under whose ministry the congregations gradually dwindled away. A sorry example of the latter class was Magister August Wolf, who was sent by the Ministerium of Hamburg to the Raritan churches in New Jersey. A regular blank call for a pastor was made out by these congregations, and, along with money for his passage, forwarded through the kind offices of Berkenmeier, leaving the selection of a "*German Studiosus theologiæ*" to this body.

"A more unsuitable individual could not have been palmed off upon the Raritan congregations. Of his orthodoxy there was no doubt. He had not even the faintest semblance of Halle Pietism, so much abhorred by the adherents of the orthodox party, to which in these times the Hamburg ministry, and on this side of the Atlantic William Christopher Berkenmeier and Michael Christopher Knoll belonged." He is credited with fine classical and literary attainments. His congregations received him with joy and the most kindly prepossession, only to experience more keenly the bitterness of disappointment and the ruination of the church. Capricious, conceited, arbitrary and unprincipled, he was positively without any gifts or character for the ministerial office. The first shock his conduct gave the people was the close reading of his sermon from manuscript, a practice of which they had possibly never heard, but they contrived to bear with this because he claimed to have lost his memory during the voyage across the ocean, although he at the same time gave them to understand that he considered read sermons good enough for such rustics. An injudicious marriage soon brought him into discredit, and the brutal maltreatment of his wife, a divorce from her by the civil courts, and other scandalous procedures made his further pastoral ministrations insufferable. But he had recourse to the civil magistrate, and for ten or more years kept harrowing these people before the courts, and compelling them to pay him the salary for which they had contracted—to pay him, in fact, for the misery which he had brought upon them and for the approximate annihilation of the congregations.

The result of this ministerial adventure is set down as follows: The sacred office was brought into reproach, the Sacraments were no longer observed, there was no instruction of youth, no pastoral care for the sick, the congregations were dispersed, their members reduced to a few families, and their general devastation was so noised abroad over the land that it became a by-word and a proverb, even a street song, in every German community.

Worse and worse, more and more wretched grows the condition of the Lutheran Church—if a church it may be called—at this time. Lutherans were here—a multitude of them—but, properly speaking, this great and dispersed mass did not constitute a Lutheran Church. There was no organism. The church was void and without form, and darkness brooded over the chaotic elements; and the darkness was steadily deepening, and to many it was verging on despair. Deliverance seemed impossible. A prey to fanatics, a prey to false brethren, a prey to strife and distraction among themselves, these Lutheran sheep, widely scattered and wofully straitened, were “helpless and sick and ready to die.” Destitute of all spiritual care and protection, with no bond of union between them for mutual strength and support, and with no



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ecclesiastical connection with the fatherland to yield them relief, the wild beasts that prowled round their dwellings and the savage Indians ever lurking in ambush to butcher the white intruder, were but the symbolic figures of a more deadly foe—the arch-adversary who compasses the camp of the saints, and whose prey is the Church of the living God. Surely, arguing from human premises, men must have concluded that the Lutheran Church could have no field, no mission, no history in America.

But is it not always the darkest hour before the dawn? Is not the very brooding of the darkness over the face of the deep the pledge of a coming world? Does not the night always precede the day? Has any good cause ever been founded except through great tribulations? Is not the cross the emblem of Christ's Church, and have the disciples such an advantage over the Master that they can attain the crown without the endurance of suffering and shame? Has God ever granted victory to his people before he has made them submit to the fiery trial of their faith and the testing of their character by placing them for a season "in heaviness through manifold temptations?" Has our Lord's fasting for forty days and forty nights no significance or suggestion for his Church? Must the forty years' wandering through the desert by God's chosen race be divested of its lesson for all who walk by faith, though we are so clearly told that all these things happened unto them for types, and that "they are written for our admonition?" "Beloved, think it not strange concerning the fiery trial which is to try you, as though some strange thing hap-

pened unto you. But rejoice, inasmuch as ye are partakers of Christ's sufferings."

The God of Luther was still alive—the Hearer of prayer was still on the eternal throne. His interposition was long delayed; it always is, in our view. "Gottes Mühlen mahlen langsam." But his counsels were ripening. A great and glorious church was to overspread this land with the faith of the Reformer and the priceless and uncorrupted treasures of the Reformation, but her birth in the New World, like her birth in the old, must be amid pains and anguish and travail, through a long night of sorrow and gloom. The morning was sure to come. Beyond the darkness faith descried the glimmer of a better day. A new epoch was at hand.



Henry Melchior Muhlenberg

CHAPTER VIII.

MUHLENBERG AND HIS COLLEAGUES.

THE faith of Luther animated many of his sorely-tried spiritual children in the New World. A faithful God, they felt assured, could not forsake them in their deep distress. And they waited patiently for his salvation. Yet they must bestir themselves. Many who were pining for the ordinances and ministrations of their Church, and praying with many tears that God would awaken in the hearts of their European brethren an interest in their condition, felt moved also to leave nothing undone to bring their destitution before the eyes of those brethren.

Their repeated letters, however urgent and affecting had proved unavailing. No letter or number of letters could properly or adequately describe their spiritual misery. The results of their correspondence were totally unsatisfactory. Ministers who came over ostensibly in response to these piteous appeals, and who were welcomed as servants of God come to advance the interests of the Church, had turned out to be in reality its destroyers.

Some of the people finally determined that a living delegation should personally represent to influential Lutheran divines in Europe the extremity of their needs, and by travelling about excite general sympathy in their behalf, solicit contributions towards the erection of church buildings and school-houses, and especially seek for a proper and competent man for the pastoral office

and teachers for the instruction of the young. This action was taken in the year 1733 by the congregation of Philadelphia conjointly with that at New Providence and the one at New Hanover, or Falckner's Swamp, situated respectively some twenty miles from Philadelphia.

The latter congregation was founded by Pastor Falckner in 1703. He was succeeded by Rev. Gerhard Henkel and after him the neighboring Swedish clergy occasionally preached there and rendered pastoral services. At Philadelphia Pastor Fabricius while serving the Swedish Churches preached in the years 1688-1691 also for the German Lutherans, who appear, however, at that day to have had neither church-building nor organization, and held their worship for a long time in the Swedish Church at an early hour. In 1734 Lutherans and Reformed conjointly rented for 4£ "a weatherboarded house" for the use of divine worship—the first instance probably of a Union Church. The first trace of Lutheran services at New Providence (The Trappe) is in 1732, when a certain John Christian Schultz officiated there and at New Hanover and Philadelphia. There is no proof that he was an ordained clergyman, yet he proceeded to grant ordination in 1733 to John Caspar Stoever, the ceremony being conducted in a barn which served for many years as a Bethel. The organization of a congregation with constitution and officers dates doubtless from the year 1733.

These congregations, two of but recent organization, and said to embrace each 500 families, more or less, "having joined together in the name of God and

with prayer for his gracious help," felt constrained to commission two of their number, Daniel Weisiger and Johann Daniel Schöner, accompanied by the above named Schultz, to plead their cause with the Lutherans of Europe.

The oral representations, which this deputation was to make abroad, were supported by an open letter in which it was shown that the condition of the people was in the highest degree deplorable, that they were "in a land full of sects and heresy, without ministers and teachers, schools, churches and books," and that their children and descendants were in danger of sliding back into heathenism. It contained entreaties for help in the propagation of "the pure Evangelical doctrine, seeing that upon this depends the salvation of so many souls," and closed with the prayer that "in America also, by the preaching of the Word of God, the way of life may be made plain to those who confess the Christian faith; and also, by that Grace which extends towards all men, be opened up to the heathen tribes who occupy the land. May He the Good Shepherd, who is not willing that any should perish, graciously watch over his poor forsaken sheep whether among Christians or heathen, and all for his love and mercy's sake. Hallelujah!"

The commissioners made their way first of all to Dr. Ziegenhagen, Court-preacher in London, who furnished them with letters of recommendation especially to Halle, that focus of spiritual influence, the fires of whose altar were just then rekindling and reanimating a formal Christianity, some 6000 of its preachers having already borne the flames of living

piety into as many congregations. The first to inaugurate the work of heathen missions and the diffusion of the Scriptures, pietistic Halle was now destined to become the fountain of unspeakable blessings to America, the agency for establishing over that new and vast domain what it had re-awakened in Germany, a church in which pure doctrine and holy living, orthodox faith and evangelical piety should blend and harmoniously reflect the glory of the Gospel.

It was well, perchance, that the proper organization of the Lutheran Church in this country was deferred until its foundation could be laid by men who were reared in the school of Pietism, and who had become grounded in the true faith and at the same time imbued with its glowing zeal and its practical activity. For although Lutherans had been for a century found in considerable numbers, it cannot be said that outside of the Swedish Churches there had been up to this time any definite organism or any real progress.

The representation of the condition of the Lutherans of America made a deep impression at Halle, where Dr. Gotthelf August Francke, "a typical representative of Pietism in its first and purer form," who in religious earnestness and practical talents was a worthy son of his renowned father, Augustus Herman Francke, now stood at the head of the university and its affiliated benevolent institutions. Of one mind with Ziegenhagen, he was ready at once to co-operate in measures for the relief of their distressed brethren. His services to this end proved of inestimable advantage to the Lutheran Church in America. It was in accordance with eternal fitness when, on the occasion of the

first Jubilee of the Halle Institutions in 1748, Francke felt constrained to commemorate among other things the great blessings which proceeding from Halle had "so richly refreshed the Lutheran congregations in North America." "The Lutheran Church of the New World," says Dr. Mann, "owes its best support in external means and spiritual forces in the last century, to the men of the Franckean Institutions, the



THE OLD TRAPPE CHURCH, NEAR PHILADELPHIA, PA.

(Dedicated October 6th, 1745.)

Hallean Pietists. It was apparently a small force but its efficacy continues to this day." And Halle, after many years, saw the bread which it had so generously cast upon the American waters, floating back to its source, returning to revive and strengthen its institutions in the time of their distress. During the devastating wars of Napoleon these institutions were almost wholly destroyed, and in response to the appeal of their directors the American churches which had

been founded by the Halle missionaries forwarded to them liberal pecuniary aid.

While Halle at once became and ever after remained the center for affording succor to America, many people in all parts of the fatherland were deeply moved as they learned of the affliction of Joseph. A widespread sympathy was excited which took the form of generous contributions for the erection of church-buildings and schools and for the support of pastors, to which were added, of course, many Bibles and other devotional manuals. Encouraged by the approbation and patronage of Halle, "they met with warm hearts and fervent prayers and material aid everywhere."

But above all things was this commission charged to procure a true and faithful pastor. This was the matter of greatest solicitude. This was the critical and pivotal feature of the situation. In gathering material supplies for the aid of congregations little discrimination is required, and funds may be collected with the dispatch demanded by the urgency of those who are crying for aid, but when a personality is required, a leader, and a ruler, only one in a thousand may possess the requisite qualifications. Dr. Francke with the warmest sympathy for these destitute congregations in Pennsylvania, and prepared from love to God and his Word to do the utmost in his power, had likewise a clear, practical discernment of the peculiar requirements of such a field, the appalling difficulties by which it was beset and the great lack of persons whose training and individuality would com-

mend them for the position. He exercised, therefore, the greatest caution.

The Lutheran churches in Germany had at the time no dearth of ministers, some of whom it could have spared to the feeble flock this side the Atlantic. There were numerous candidates ready to receive appointments, and there were doubtless some whose studies had not been completed, who would gladly have accepted a commission to travel to America and try their gifts and their fortunes here. But there must be no experiments where Christ's cause is at stake. The policy of putting up with anything had been sufficiently tried. There must be no more disappointments, no more mistakes, such as had already overwhelmed these struggling churches with disaster and brought dishonor on the Lutheran name. "We are willing," writes Francke, in 1734, "to co-operate according to our ability and with God's grace," but whatever is undertaken, he maintained, must be done intelligently and wisely, with mutual understanding and pledges, and upon a firm and sure foundation.

A formal request was accordingly forwarded to the congregations to communicate the fullest information on all particulars. Assurances must be given that the minister or ministers sent would be accorded becoming reverence and submission. Proper order must be observed in every particular. The clergyman suited for this work must be a man of ripe experience, of sound judgment, of executive capacity, "a man of solid commanding character, and one who could be depended on to do his utmost in labor and sacrifice for the welfare of the churches and the youth

committed to his charge." Such a person, again, must receive ordination in Germany and as a prerequisite—according to Lutheran usage, a regular and formal call must be made out for him by the churches seeking his services, a call accompanied by pledges not only of financial support distinctly specified, and to be paid in current funds and promptly, but also of that love and submission which are due to the sacred office. It was further required of these congregations "not to make any unreasonable demands upon the pastors, or such as may be in conflict with the Word of God, or with the doctrine of the Evangelical Lutheran Church."

All this involved a protracted correspondence,—a correspondence which has been largely preserved in *Hallesche Nachrichten*, and which is replete with affecting interest in bringing out the enlightened and deliberative zeal of Ziegenhagen and Francke, and the earnest piety, the undaunted faith, the touching importunity and the sturdy American good sense of these long-suffering people. Weisiger, "whose name deserves to be held in remembrance for his intelligent devotion and laborious enterprise in behalf of the church," had to return without a pastor, though not without hope, and his final appeal once more urged: "Send us pastors who will teach us and our children in the Word of God, who will administer the holy Sacraments in our congregations."

Years of waiting had thus to be added to the long and gloomy years through which our Lutheran ancestors had already passed. But they were years of prayer and of hope, supplications going up unto God

not only from the sorely-trying, languishing and shepherdless flocks of America, but also from the warm, earnest and believing hearts of Germany, "that the Lord Himself may designate the right man,—the man who confiding in the strength of the Almighty, has the courage and capacity to gather together the lost sheep of the scattered flock, and bring them back to the Great Shepherd."

And He who sent Moses to his people groaning in Egypt, who sent out Paul far hence to the Gentiles sitting in darkness, who raised up Luther with the light of His Word for those who were watching for the dawn, now also, in answer to many prayers, brought forth a deliverer and an apostle for America, a man combining in himself to a marvellous extent the qualifications indispensable for the work to be accomplished, a man deeply penetrated by the Pietistic Spirit, and who as a manifest instrument of Providence was destined to build from the precious, but chaotic and scattered elements, the foundations of the Lutheran Church in a new world.

His name was Heinrich Melchior Muhlenberg. He was born at Eimbeck, in Hanover, on the 6th day of September, 1711. According to good Lutheran custom he was baptized on the day of his birth, and was confirmed in his twelfth year. His early youth revealed liberal endowments, thirst for knowledge, industrious and successful study, a predisposition to independence of thought, serious religious convictions, and a benevolent heart. Such was his fondness for learning, that while as a lad he was engaged in some ordinary vocation he clandestinely devoted every

spare moment to his books; spent his evenings at study, exercised his voice, and attained such proficiency from private instruction, that when admitted to the highest classical school of the place, he took at once the front rank, and distinguished himself by his rapid progress in Latin, Greek and other branches. By means of beneficiary aid and by rendering personal services to one of the professors he was enabled to obtain a thorough education, entering the University of Göttingen in 1735. His moral fibre and the spirituality of his character he showed at this stage by surmounting the temptations and perils of university life, and by choosing for his companions fellow-students of a positively religious turn. Through these he came for the first time into immediate contact with the Pietistic movement, experiencing great spiritual benefits from this association, and learning among other vital truths, that the baptism of the Holy Ghost is the indispensable prerequisite for a preacher of the Gospel. Upon his graduation he was happily appointed teacher in the Orphan House at Halle, and thus came directly under the influence of its earnest, spiritual and practical Christianity. His evangelical zeal, his aptness in teaching and his missionary ardor pointed him out as a suitable man to labor among the heathen, and prompted the Halle leaders to send him out to India.

But God was reserving him for another field, and circumstances accordingly arose which prevented the execution of this plan. Christopher Frederick Schwartz was chosen for the India Mission, while Muhlenberg was, in the course of a few years, to follow the star

of empire westward. In the meanwhile he was appointed to the Pastorate of Gross Hennersdorf, in Saxony, a few miles south of Herrnhut, the headquarters of Moravianism. In the autumn of 1739 he was solemnly ordained a minister of the Lord Jesus Christ. His situation was not meant to be enchanting, and occasions for stirring up his nest were not wanting. Finding himself one evening at Halle, the guest of Francke, the latter at supper brought to his notice the subject of the "Call to the dispersed Lutherans in Pennsylvania," and proposed to him "to make a trial of a few years." Without any hesitation and to the joy of the Francke household, Muhlenberg replied, that if he could see in it the will of God he would go, and that he felt bound to go wherever Providence called him. Yielding to the first impulses of a heart loyal to Christ, the issue was at once decided. The prospect of such an undertaking might have dismayed the most heroic spirit. It could be easily foreseen that it was beset with innumerable obstacles, hardships and perils, but so far from being appalled by these the devotion of an apostle exclaims: "None of these, things move me, neither count I my life dear." And thus while feeling keenly the separation from his native land and beloved friends, the love of Christ and his precious church prompted him to surrender cheerfully home, friends, country, associations, comforts, studies, everything dear to nature, for what was then materially and morally a howling wilderness.

That memorable scene at Francke's supper table transpired September 6, 1741. On December 9,

Muhlenberg, "under considerable emotion," preached his farewell sermon, and eight days later he took his departure, going out with Abraham's faith, and like him not really knowing whither he went. Having completed the necessary preparations for the long journey, he made his way to London. His stay in that city was for various reasons protracted for nine weeks, but this delay proved to be very fortunate. He derived especially great spiritual benefit from his daily intercourse with Ziegenhagen, who received him with thanks and praises to God.

It was the 13th of June 1742 that his vessel set sail from Gravesend. With a profound feeling of the responsibility he had assumed and of the difficulties he would have to encounter, and with serious misgivings about his own ability for the work, he combined a strong and heroic faith by which he always committed himself implicitly into the hands of the Lord. Knowing that besides the ordinary perils of the deep, the ship that was bearing him was both unseaworthy and overloaded, and that she would probably be attacked by pirates, he exclaimed on hearing a poor Salzburger mother singing "Ein feste Burg": "that is a better protection than the ten iron cannon with which the vessel is provided."

The passage to Charleston, S. C. required 110 days and was one of "unusual peril and exhaustion." The prophet on board was, however, this time no Jonah fleeing from duty and exposing the ship to danger, but a most faithful servant of God cheerfully sacrificing himself to the call of duty. He proved not a curse but a blessing to his companions. The ship be-

came a church, his fellow-passengers, the crew and several negro slaves, a mission field for this ambassador of the Cross. Although suffering exceedingly from sea sickness he is seen daily instructing in intellectual and spiritual things the children on board. Sunday after Sunday he preaches, in the morning German to the few Salzburgers on board, in the afternoon with blundering attempts at an English discourse, using Latin terms where his limited vocabulary failed him and having the captain put them into English. Every one was taken under his pastoral supervision. To the negroes especially he gave the kindest attention, endeavoring to plant in them the germs of religious knowledge. Excepting the few Salzburgers there was not one on board who could enter into his religious views and feelings or even afford him social companionship, yet he commanded by his Christian demeanor and official faithfulness the high personal esteem of the whole ship's company.

Arriving at Charleston, September 23, 1742, Muhlenberg made his way to Ebenezer. This was in accordance with the wishes of Ziegenhagen, who hoped that a visit to these brethren would be serviceable to this pioneer for Pennsylvania, and that one of the pastors might accompany him to that province and assist him in the work of organizing the Lutheran Church there.

Muhlenberg's brief sojourn among these brethren whose Halle training gave them the fullest sympathy with his views, brought him bodily and spiritual refreshment. He came here for the first time in contact with a German-American congregation, freed from

the stifling pressure of state authority, and its success was most instructive and encouraging. But sweet as were the days of repose, the call of his Lord is to Pennsylvania and although it was late in the fall and an almost unbroken wilderness of 900 miles stretched between him and the goal of his journey, he must hasten onward.

With a spirit of brotherly kindness and great self-denial, Bolzius, having obtained the magnanimous consent of his congregation, accompanied him. But upon reaching Charleston, and finding themselves in great perplexity as to the time and manner of proceeding on their journey, Bolzius felt constrained to return to Ebenezer. Muhlenberg is once more left absolutely alone.

Ready to die or to live he gave his soul into the hands of God and, notwithstanding the protestations of men knowing the season and the sort of craft on which he engaged passage, committed himself to a frail and wretched bark and endured a terrible voyage to Philadelphia. His fortitude if not his faith at one time gave way to such an extent that he piteously begged the captain to be put ashore. Still he would preach to the ship's company whose profanity made his hair stand on end, and when too weak to stand he preached from his bed in a sitting posture.

But in spite of waves and tempests and perils of every kind, the vessel which bore the founder of the American Lutheran Church could not perish, and at last it bears its precious freight quietly and serenely up the Delaware, passing here and there the thriving homesteads of Swedish Lutherans and, as it nears

Philadelphia, offering a view of Tinicum Island, on which just about one hundred years before the first Lutheran house of worship in the New World had been erected.

It was on the 25th of November 1742 that Muhlenberg set foot in Philadelphia. He was in the prime of life, in vigorous health, possessed of a robust constitution capable of enduring exposures and hardships, and was eminently qualified for his peculiar and momentous task, by an extraordinary versatility of talents, by general culture, by theological soundness, a benignant disposition, a penetration of human nature, a faculty for administration, a resolute will and prodigious energy, a world-conquering faith and absolute consecration. Combining the highest qualities of pastor, preacher and leader he seems to have been specially endowed by the Holy Ghost with the charisms vouchsafed to the Apostolic Church. He was without doubt a man sent of God to the Lutheran Church of America, its heaven-ordained Bishop. His coming was the signal of a new era. It was like the arrival of a captain in the midst of a scattered, dispirited and demoralized host. It was to the Church what the advent of spring is to the earth after a long dreary and stormy winter. It was the instrument of her firm establishment and her organic life. Finding himself a stranger in Philadelphia, without even a letter of introduction, and falling in with a German who belonged to the New Hanover Church, he set out on horseback that very day for his destination.

The following Sunday found him in the rude pulpit

of "a log building not yet finished within," and the Sunday after he addressed large audiences in Philadelphia, preaching in the forenoon in the old butcher-shop in which the Lutherans and the Reformed held their services alternately,—we have no proof that a regular normal Lutheran organization existed,—and in the afternoon in the Swedish Church located beyond the southern limits of the city. Its pastor, Rev. Dylander, had died the year before. The pastor of the Church at Christina, (now Wilmington, Del.) Rev. Tranberg, gave Muhlenberg a hearty welcome and every encouragement in his mission. The third Sunday he officiated at New Providence (The Trappe) preaching in a barn.

Muhlenberg's reception by the congregations to which he was sent, was determined in large measure by the state of things which he found prevailing. No announcement of his coming anticipated him and but for Ziegenhagen's testimonials, he would likely have been regarded as one more impostor, although there must have been, to some at least, a different ring in his preaching. Some, like famished sheep, were so hungry for the food of life that they received him with profound thanksgiving. Long neglected, and denied the stated ministrations of the Church, they now received them joyfully and with their whole hearts. But there were others whom hope deferred had made sick at heart. And as pretenders one after another continued to affect pastoral services, some adhered to one and some to another. A number had gone off to the Moravians, whose leader, Count von Zinzendorf, claimed "ecclesiastical authority over

all the Lutherans in the Province;" not a few had witnessed so much of the disorder and the distraction which had long prevailed, that they were unwilling to have anything further to do with churches or parsons, while of course there were not wanting those wary and selfish ones who mean to wait and see what turn things will take.

Happily for the Church, Muhlenberg came hither not seeking his own but another's cause, not for filthy lucre but for the sake of souls, and he stood prepared to endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ. Nor was it long before he had cheering evidences that humble as was the beginning, and dark as was the outlook, the hand of God was with him.

Although meeting with bitter opposition from both the disorderly and the fanatical elements that were disposed to maintain the field they had preoccupied, he was very soon acknowledged by the three congregations as their legitimate and sole pastor, and his faithfulness, dignity and the irresistible charm of his manner soon commanded universal love, esteem and sympathy. Multitudes came to hear him wherever he preached. Many cheered his heart by proofs of deep spiritual earnestness, others became awakened under his searching discourses, movements of the new life in Christ succeeded the paralysis of indifferentism and worldliness, the congregations submitted to formal reorganization, Church discipline was introduced, peace, concord and order triumphed over the reign of lawlessness, division and strife, schools were opened, the catechisation of the young was prosecuted, Muhlenberg personally attending not only to the lat-

ter, but throughout the week teaching also the children the simplest rudiments, youths nineteen and twenty years of age coming to him "with their A B C book."

The field of labor to which he was called consisted of the three congregations already named, and situated many miles apart, and the extent of his labors here, especially when the erection of churches and school-houses began, was sufficient for two or three ordinary men. But with vast fields white unto the harvest stretching in remote distances on every side, his missionary ardor could not be confined to this territory. It soon overleaped these limits and in a few years the boundless continent became his parish. Lutheran centres with various stages of organization were to be found in all directions, and, although they had but little prospect of regular pastoral services they continued with the constant increase of immigration to spring up everywhere. Muhlenberg felt constrained to visit these one after another, not only such as were adjacent, but those lying more remote like Lancaster, York, Hanover, and the churches in New Jersey and New York. This required him to travel hundreds of miles through pathless forests, over declivitous mountains, across swollen streams, under pitiless rain and snow and storm, to ride often for many hours through the darkest night unattended, and in imminent peril of his life from the savages, from the wild beasts and from sheer exhaustion.

On reaching a Lutheran community, he would proceed with preaching, often even in the depth of winter under the open sky, administering the sacraments,

teaching and confirming the young, establishing order, reconciling antagonisms, excluding incongruous elements, exposing the errors and tricks of the sects, kindling afresh the love for the Church and her services, strengthening everywhere the things that remained and were ready to die, and restoring once more confidence and respect for the sacred office. With all these arduous and almost superhuman labors for the general interest, he never forgot the essential office of the true shepherd, the care of the individual sheep. His remarkable wisdom in leading such as were troubled and awakened to unburthen their souls to him, his rare tact in pointing out to them the way of salvation, and his burning zeal in this direction, are among the greatest secrets of his wonderful power over men. "My saddest concern," he mournfully exclaims, "is that to the special care of each soul there is too little time and opportunity given." And notwithstanding that roads, rivers and storms were such that "one would not like to drive his dog out of the house, yet willingly do I go, at any day or any time left free to me, and visit souls in whom the Spirit has begun his work." It was a common practice with him at the close of the Lord's Day to spend hours in private with awakened and penitent individuals, directing inquirers to the Lamb of God. His biography narrates many striking cases of spiritual awakening, and shows that the renewal and salvation of the individual was the unquenchable purpose of his ministry.

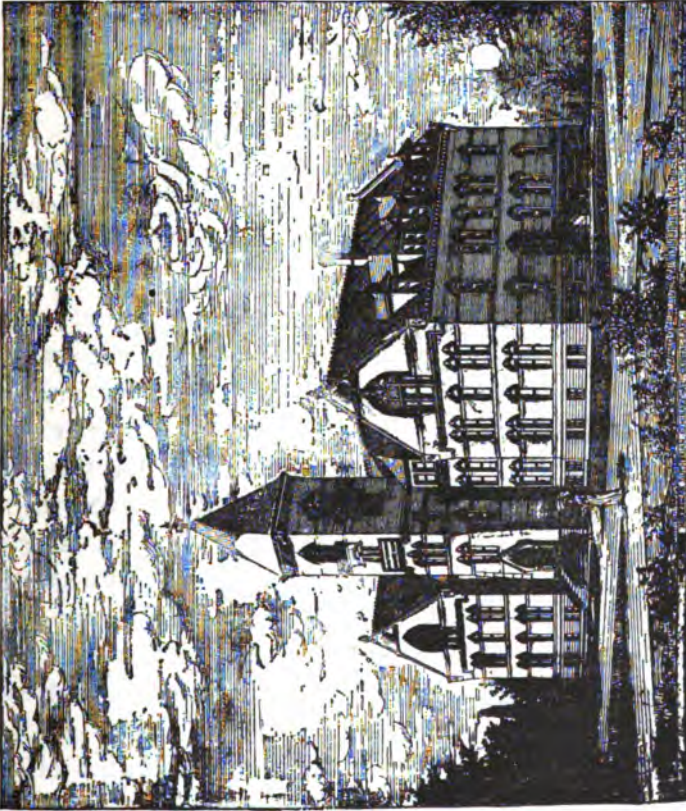
His concern for the individual soul was only equalled by his conscientious solicitude for the spir-

itual life of the congregation. In illustration of this, note his requirement of the Church Council, on the occasion of his first administration of the communion, to testify to the moral character of the people who had handed in their names. With the same spirit, when for the first time he visited York and the congregation asked to have the Holy Supper, he declined to administer it to them, on the ground that they first needed repentance and the application of God's Word.

Not the least of Muhlenberg's cares nor the least of his achievements, was his conflict with the legion of scandalous impostors that had intruded into the feeble and defenseless folds and by their infamous conduct had, in many localities, brought reproach upon the Lutheran Church and on the pastoral office. Though they assailed him with the poisoned shafts of calumny, though they employed every weapon of cunning and malice to counteract his influence, and to prevent the progress of Christ's kingdom, they were constrained to flee before this resolute ambassador, who came to the defense of the churches with the scathing weapon of God's truth and with the divine principle of order and organization. Not one of them could withstand him—not even Count von Zinzendorf, who was, indeed, no impostor, but a dangerous intruder into Lutheran congregations.

For several years he labored solitary and alone. A certain Rev. Tobias Wagner had, indeed, arrived shortly after Muhlenberg, and exercised a brief and desultory ministry respectively in some half dozen congregations in Pennsylvania, but intimate fellow-

ship and effective co-operation with a man of his turn of mind were out of the question. Berkenmeier and Knoll entertained strong prejudices against Muhlenberg's Pietism, and persistently sought to undermine his influence by impugning his orthodoxy and his



LUTHER SEMINARY, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

loyalty to the Lutheran Church. "Mr. Berkenmeier," says Dr. B. M. Schmucker, "claimed for himself and the men from Hamburg, a more positive Lutheran orthodoxy than he conceded to Hartwig, Muhlenberg

and the others trained at Halle. He earnestly warned the congregations against them." This distrust was as unfortunate as it was unwarranted. As Pastor Berkenmeier was a man of ability, learning, unimpeachable conduct and widely extended influence, especially among the Lutherans of New York, one may, in some degree, imagine what might have been the effect upon the Lutheran Church of that generation and of succeeding generations, had not the unwarranted suspicion of Confessional unsoundness kept these two excellent men from uniting their counsels, their strength and their influence for the gathering, the organization and the advancement of the Lutheran Church.

With his practical insight and his prophetic and hopeful foresight, Muhlenberg very soon recognized the great work to be accomplished here for and by the Lutheran Church, and he at once sent urgent petitions to Halle for co-laborers. In January, 1745, his heart was cheered by the arrival of three men whom the Halle Fathers had sent out to his assistance. Their advent was the occasion of such joy that the anniversary of it was for a number of years celebrated in the circle of this devoted brotherhood as a grateful memorial serving for the spiritual refreshment of all.

Their names were Peter Brunnholtz, John Nicol. Kurtz, and John Helfrich Schaum. The first one alone had been ordained. He was "a man of distinguished moral worth, and of extraordinary devotedness to the cause of Christ." The latter two had reached a certain stage of preparation, but they

were expected to prosecute their studies under their superiors, while they served as catechists and teachers in the congregational schools, a sphere in which they were needed quite as much as in the pulpit.

Sensible of the strength which comes from union, the two pastors made an amicable distribution of their work, extending their ministrations to outlying stations in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, accessible by a day's journey, and most heartily and to the fullest extent co-operated with each other. As a reminder of the rivalries and strifes which had marked the relations of the numerous impostors and pretenders, these co-laborers became known everywhere as "the united ministers," and the effect of such union was soon visible in every quarter. The upbuilding of Zion progressed at a wonderful rate, the desert began to blossom as the rose. The catechists besides their work of catechising the young and conducting schools, were much occupied also in preaching, were authorized to baptize infants and in cases of emergency to administer the communion to the sick, thus faithfully testing and improving their ministerial qualifications until each was deemed worthy of ordination and settlement over his own parish.

The fame of the blessed work of these pastors was not long in spreading over the colonies and from every quarter, even away up in the Mohawk valley, came earnest petitions for the services of "the united ministers." And whenever Muhlenberg learned of German Lutherans, destitute of pastoral ministrations, and this was true of scores of communities, he was ready to render assistance as promptly as possible.

and so were his associates, all having the same spirit, all laboring for one end. Their missionary work accordingly branched out rapidly both east and west, north and south, and Mühlenberg especially, with indefatigable application and with an astounding capacity of endurance, made frequent journeys on horseback for a distance of fifty and even a hundred miles, traversing terrible roads, dangerous swamps and deep streams, in the fiercest weather, and at the hazard of his life. On one occasion he and a companion after riding all day, were compelled for want of finding a house at which to lodge, "to continue riding through the wilderness, with the rain pouring down heavier, and the poor horses wading up to their knees through water and mire, until at two o'clock in the morning, totally worn out and half dead, they reached their quarters."

We meet him at Lancaster, at York, at McAllister-town (Hanover), where in 1746 he found a considerable congregation, and passing beyond the Maryland boundaries, he is on the Monocacy and at Frederick. Journeying in another direction he visits the churches on the Raritan, at New York, up the Hudson, and late in life he undertakes the laborious journey to Ebenezer, Georgia, to exercise his mediating powers and quiet the serious disturbances which had broken out.

No earthly remuneration could be any consideration for such hardships, exposures, toils and conflicts in the service of Christ's Church, but a mind like his must have enjoyed the recompense he found in the inestimable privilege of preaching repentance and faith in the Lord Jesus to listening multitudes, many of

whom had traveled ten and even twenty miles to hear him, some with hot tears lamenting to him their privation of the means of grace, while others were awakened under the power of his earnest sermons. With extraordinary readiness the congregations submitted themselves to his counsel and to his authority, bound themselves to the observance of order and discipline, and pledged their adhesion to "the holy Word of God as given by prophets and apostles, in the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and the other Symbolical Books." Although the churches which he visited had, one by one, been seriously disturbed by persons playing the role of Lutheran ministers, and many had been led into error, the people promptly recognized the voice of a Lutheran shepherd, as he discoursed on the nature of true repentance, and on the person and offices of Christ. Under the light of his instruction and preaching and in virtue of the stable organization which he effected, the demon of confusion was summarily dispelled. Congregations that had become "deplorably demoralized," felt the invigoration of a new life. With the return of order and union they became conscious of strength, and although it was impossible at once to supply them with regular pastors, schools were established, the youth were catechised, a sermon was read each Lord's day to the assembled people, church-buildings began to be erected and everything was done to make ready for the advent of an ordained preacher.

Another co-worker, the Rev. J. Fr. Handschuh, who like his colleagues was a man of deep personal religious experience and of glowing zeal for practical godliness, was sent over by Francke in the spring of 1748.

He served successively the churches at Lancaster, Germantown and Philadelphia.

Soon after his arrival Muhlenberg and Brunnholtz in conjunction with Handschuh made provision for the proper ordering of the public worship, the administration of the sacraments and the unification of the congregations by formulating a common liturgy. A short formulary had heretofore been used but it was not "in all its parts harmonious," and the preparation of a more complete order had been deferred until there should be more laborers on the ground, and "a better knowledge of the condition of things in this country" should be obtained. The Swedish Liturgy was found to be unsuited to the German Churches because it required the chanting of the collects, which Germans from the Rhine and Main districts considered "papal." And it was also deemed inexpedient to adopt any of the numerous German Agenda, since the members of the churches had come from so many different localities, each of which had its own formulary. They accordingly took the Liturgy of the Savoy congregation of London as the basis, making such abbreviations, modifications and additions "as after due consideration of the circumstances in which we are here placed appeared advisable and calculated to edify, and adopted it tentatively until we had a better understanding of the matter, and determined to use it with a view of introducing into our congregations the same ceremonies, forms and words."

A step of yet greater importance and more far-reaching in results was the formation during the same year, August 14 and 15, 1748, of a Synodical organi-

zation. The bonds of affection and faith which united these German pastors extended also to their Swedish brethren, who were men of a kindred spirit, unceasingly active in preaching, and caring for the spiritually destitute, and who in conformity to the instructions of the Archbishop of Sweden stood ready for the most intimate fellowship and co-operation. Differences of language and nationality were sunk in the desire to make common cause for the maintenance of the Gospel, the development of the Church, and especially for the exclusion of the fanatical "Zinzendorfers," who were everywhere intruding into Lutheran congregations, creating disturbances and divisions.

The first proposal for a union came from an active and wealthy layman, Peter Koch, an officer in the Swedish congregation at Wicacoa. He elaborated a "Regulation" forever uniting the two branches of the Church. But his scheme was deemed impracticable and several further attempts of a similar kind were likewise frustrated. Both parties felt more and more the need of such an alliance in counsel and action. An annual conference including a few of the elders of the German and Swedish congregations, it was felt, would impart greater efficiency to the efforts of the ministry and promote the general good of Zion. The Swedish pastors had in fact been closely identified with the German communities before the arrival of the Halle ministers, having been instrumental in founding congregations in localities which to-day are among the strongest centres of Lutheranism, and supplying, with great considerateness and zeal, some of

the older congregations on the Hudson and elsewhere with preaching. They and their churches stood ready therefore for a union.

The churches served by the "United Ministers" had come to be known generally as "The United Evangelical Congregations." Here was the nucleus for a permanent and compact organization. And it was reasonable that other German congregations should desire to share the advantages of such an association, and gladly entrust their well-being into the hands of men who had gained their confidence and esteem by "their elevated character as servants of God, and their firmness in holding fast to the Unaltered Augsburg Confession." It was, in particular, a petition of this character from the congregations at Tulpehocken and Northkill that led to the decisive step.

There were present at this meeting Muhlenberg, Brunnholtz, Handshuh, Kurtz, Hartwig and the Swedish Provost Sandin, with his colleague Naesman, and the delegates from their respective congregations. Muhlenberg, by common consent presided, but to the Swedes was accorded a general precedence, and all, longing "with united hearts and God's grace to advance the welfare of our poor Church in America," took an active part in the solemn deliberations.

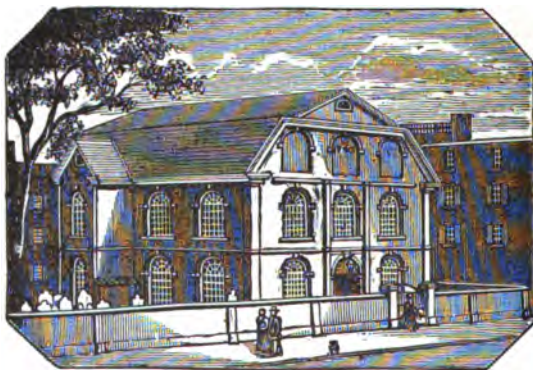
The effect of this first organization was to merge the pastors and congregations into a joint body, in which each congregation or pastoral district became an organic part, surrendering its independence to the general authority, and receiving in turn through lay-representation a voice in the government of the

Church, as a whole, and of its constituent parts. The decisions of the united body had binding force with the congregations, and even the call for a pastor from any one of them was henceforth addressed to Muhlenberg, and by him submitted to the assembled ministerium.

The proceedings of this convention embraced, first, the ordination of the catechist, J. N. Kurtz, a request for which was presented by his congregations. He was subjected to a very rigid examination concerning his awakening, course of life, attainments, library, motives for seeking the ministry, Lutheran orthodoxy, and the exercise of the pastoral office in public and private. Francke, to whom these ministers forwarded regular reports, "thought too much was expected of the young candidate," and observes that the questions "were answered better than they would have been by one out of ten preachers before our German consistories." This was the first case of synodical ordination, and administered at the first synodical convention in this country. J. H. Schaum was ordained at the meeting of the synod in Lancaster the ensuing year.

Secondly, the dedication with imposing ceremonies of St. Michael's Church in Philadelphia. The Synod attended in procession, the Swedish Provost Sandin and Hartwig in the lead. A congratulatory address in English, written by the oldest Swedish minister, Tranberg, was read, after which followed a historical address, which among other things stated that the building had been erected "that the doctrines of the Evangelical Lutheran Church might be preached in it

according to the prophets and apostles, and in agreement with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and all the other Symbolical Books." After this the whole building and its parts, the pulpit, baptismal font, altar, were formally dedicated to the preaching of the saving Word and the administration of the Holy Sacraments according to the Symbolical Books of the Lutheran Church. The representatives of the congregation solemnly promised for this purpose to preserve the building for the use of their children and



ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA. (Dedicated Aug. 14, 1748.)

children's children. After some further singing, "all the ministers and delegates kneeling around the altar, each minister, except Muhlenberg, offered a short prayer, Sandin and Naesman in Swedish, the others in German." After another hymn and the baptism of a child, Handschuh delivered the dedication sermon, which was followed by the administration of the Lord's Supper.

Another day was occupied in ascertaining through the delegates the relation between the pastors and their

congregations, the condition and wants of the parochial schools, and the ratification of the Liturgy, the lay delegates expressing their satisfaction with the form which had been prepared, and with the plan to introduce the same form in all the congregations, "though they thought that during cold winter days the service would be somewhat too long."

Before adjourning, the synod resolved to meet annually, alternating between Lancaster and Philadelphia, each congregation at its own expense to send two elders. Thus were laid the foundations of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in this country. How wisely and how firmly, may be judged from the fact that this body, under the name of the "Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium" of Pennsylvania and adjacent states, after the lapse of a century and a half is not only still in existence, but embraces to-day an aggregate of 265 ministers, 442 congregations and more than 100,000 communicants, notwithstanding that more than fifty synodical organizations with half a million of communicants have directly or indirectly sprung from it.

The most salutary results began at once to be apparent. With the hearts of the pastors beating in unison their hands were now also united, and they felt girded for their task, while the congregations peaceful within themselves and in vital fellowship with one another, became conscious of improved spiritual life, of renewed strength and of the most encouraging prospects. The establishment of order, authority and discipline was followed not only by a steady and rapid growth of the congregations already founded, but by the gathering of new congregations, and the development of new centers

in every direction, rendering re-enforcements to the ranks of the clergy imperative. Francke found it now relatively easy to meet this demand, so that in a few years a considerable force was added to those already named.

Among the most eminent and worthy of these was Rev. J. D. M. Heintzelman, whose services at the Francke schools pointed him out as especially fitted for missionary work in Pennsylvania. His career as pastor of the Philadelphia congregation was one of great usefulness but cut short by an early death. Another excellent co-laborer arrived shortly after from Halle in the person of Christopher Emanuel Schultze, who so commanded the respect and love of Muhlenberg that he secured his eldest daughter in marriage. He possessed extraordinary gifts as a preacher and as a catechist had no superior. He was most conscientious and indefatigable in the discharge of his office, and "overwhelmed with labors beyond his strength." One of his sons, after serving for awhile as pastor, was obliged to relinquish the office on account of bodily infirmities, and this grandson of Muhlenberg was twice elected Governor of Pennsylvania, serving from 1823 to 1829. Justus H. Chr. Helmuth came in 1765. He had been reared in the Halle Orphanage and had also passed through the University. He combined superior talents for teaching and preaching, labored for awhile and with great success at Lancaster, then followed a call to Philadelphia, where he became a member of the Philosophical Society and was for eighteen years Professor of the Oriental Languages and of German in the University.

With him arrived his bosom friend, John Fr. Schmidt, who was pastor at Germantown during the Revolution, and during the brief English occupation of Philadelphia became a refugee, his congregation likewise having been dispersed. Later he became Helmuth's co-laborer in Philadelphia.

Another true son of Halle was the Rev. J. L. Voigt a person of marked individuality, of pronounced literary tastes, and always sustaining close personal relations to Muhlenberg whose successor he became at the Trappe. His devotional meetings there "among those of his membership who felt a deeper spiritual interest" were viewed with disfavor by some who were not friendly to the man. With him arrived another of like spirit, John Andrew Krug, the two having been ordained at the same time. Of the latter, Dr. Mann says: "His unaffected humility, his sincere piety, and his zeal for the welfare of those who were entrusted to his care, could not fail to gain for him the esteem and the affection of those who were spiritually benefitted by his pastoral services, with whom, as a true Hallensis, he held private devotions in addition to the usual public service." He began his pastoral career at Reading, declined subsequently a call to Baltimore, and removed in 1771 to Fredericktown, Md. from whence a year later he made an extended missionary tour into Virginia.

Muhlenberg had sent his three sons while yet quite young to Halle for their education and in due time these returned and entered upon the active duties of the ministry. With them came John Christopher Kunze, "the most gifted and the most scholarly" of all the

missionaries sent from Halle to Pennsylvania. Immediately upon his arrival he became the associate of Muhlenberg in Philadelphia. Later he removed to New York where he succeeded in uniting the German congregation and the old Dutch church.

To these may be added names like Gerock, sent hither by the Church authorities of Würtemberg, who, though not sustaining intimate relations to the Halle pastors, connected himself with the Synod, and had long pastorates in Lancaster, New York and Baltimore; Hartwig, who, after having finished his University course in Germany, and having for a short time missionated among the Jews, was sent by the Hamburg ministry to the congregations on the Hudson, and identified himself with Muhlenberg and his colleagues; and especially the Swedish pastors, pre-eminent among whom were the Provosts Acrelius and von Wrangel, whose active co-operation over the whole field of the German Lutheran Church, and whose affectionate and beautiful attitude toward the German pastors, entitles them to the lasting gratitude of all Lutherans; and Bager, another Hallean pupil, who arrived in 1752, served for awhile the church in New York, and for many years the churches at York, Hanover and neighboring localities.

Besides these may yet be mentioned Weygant, Raus and Schrenk. There were yet others who had pursued a course of study in Europe, or served as teachers, and who were here for a season employed in catechising and occasional preaching under supervision, and after a fair and thorough trial were ad-

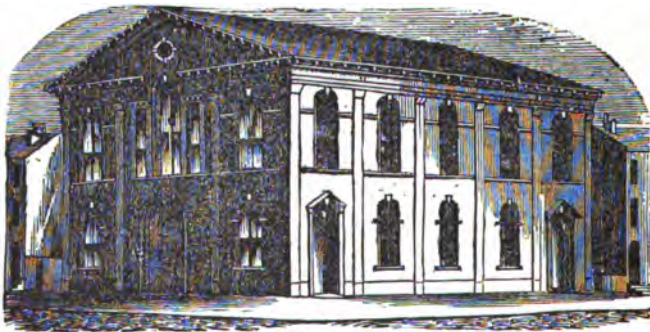
mitted to ordination upon the presentation of a call for their services.

Exclusive of those who would not fellowship these Halleian Pietists, and of the few Georgia and Virginia pastors, with whom the great distance rendered co-operation impossible, the Ministerium embraced in 1768 twenty-four members, and it would be no easy task to find in this country, at that time, another group of men measuring up to the standard of these in piety, in culture, in devotion to the Church and her Creed, and in self-sacrificing activity for the extension of Christ's Kingdom and the upbuilding of the waste places of Zion.

Measureless praise has been bestowed in our literature upon the "Pilgrim Fathers" for their abandonment of native land and their attachment to the truth and to their forms of worship, yet it has been truly said, "in genuine piety, Christian heroism, and energetic devotion to the cause of the Redeemer, the men who planted the Lutheran Church in this Western Hemisphere, will not suffer in comparison with them. Their history presents a most beautiful example of patient endurance and untiring zeal in the service of God. Their indefatigable and self-denying efforts, their earnest and faithful life, illustrating the doctrines of the Church they loved, and for whose advancement they were toiling, made a deep impression upon their contemporaries, and secured the confidence and sympathy of all with whom they were brought in contact. The prevalence of the German language among them, and the preservation of their records in their native tongue, have deprived them of

the position in the early history of our country to which their acknowledged literary character, their virtues, and their influence justly give them a claim."

And, although the marvellous triumphs of Christianity largely make up the history of the Church, the sound and rapid progress of the Evangelical Lutheran Church under the labors of Muhlenberg and his colleagues has but rarely had a parallel. With a consecration to the cause that recoiled from no self-sacrifice, with an extraordinary sagacity and adapta-



ZION'S CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA. (Dedicated June 25, 1769.)

tion to circumstances, with a co-operation that was apostolic in spirit and statesmanlike in policy, with a heroism seldom eclipsed in the field of missions or on the field of battle, and with a superhuman endurance of toils and burdens, these men were everywhere preparing the soil and sowing the seed of God's truth. And the Lord and Head of the Church was manifestly working with them and confirming the Word. Extraordinary and powerful results followed their activity. A general awakening prevailed through all the vast region surrounding their labors. A high

standard of spirituality was maintained, and the earnestness and the fervent prayers of the pastors were reflected in the active zeal and the Christian virtues of a devout people. There was a steady increase in members, efficiency and influence. In Philadelphia, St. Michael's Church, which at the time of its consecration in 1748 was regarded by many as too large and too costly a structure for so small a congregation, was found to be too contracted, the communicants alone numbering some seven hundred. By unanimous consent of the congregation, accordingly, the vestry purchased a valuable lot of ground on the corner of Fourth and Cherry Streets, and began the erection of Zion Church, laying the cornerstone at the meeting of the Synod in 1766, and consecrating it June 25, 1769, before an immense concourse of people, the Ministerium, the pastors of the Swedish and Reformed congregations, the Commissary of the Episcopal Church, the Provost and faculty of the academy, the Mayor of Philadelphia and other dignitaries, participating in the solemn festivities. This church was for many years regarded the largest and finest house of worship in America.

The wave of a quickened church life spread far and wide in every direction. From the Delaware to the Susquehanna and the region west of it, congregations arose and multitudes of various nationalities flocked to their altars. The tide extended over into Maryland, along the Monocacy and down into the heart of Virginia, and northward into the interior of Pennsylvania, while numerous flourishing churches were scattered over New Jersey, and those far up on the Hud-

son were not only strengthened but multiplied. The power of the Most High was shown to be still inherent in the Gospel mustard seed, and this mighty growth of it, with the songs of praise in its branches, proceeded in the face of the most adverse influences, and at a period, too, when both the ministers and congregations were constantly harassed by the devastations of the long raging struggle between the English and the French for the possession of the country, many being cruelly murdered, and numbers compelled to fly from their harvests and their homes.



REV. JOHN C. KUNZE, D. D.

CHAPTER IX.

THE RAVAGES OF WAR.

IT has been well said that moral deterioration is a concomitant and a consequence of war. Destruction and waste in every department of society attend the shock of arms. The saddest havoc is seen in the sphere of religion. No other calamity is so apt to extinguish the kindly light of the Gospel, or undermine the foundations of virtue.

The long and exhaustive conflict of the Revolution is a most lamentable illustration of this. It is a well attested truth that the twenty years following the war was "a time of the lowest general morality in American history." Those familiar with the ravages and sufferings of the war in general will ask no proof of this. Some fifteen cities and numerous villages were reduced to ashes. Thousands of the best citizens perished on the field of battle. Many were held in captivity or compelled to flee from their homes to find, on returning, their dwellings blotted out and their households hopelessly scattered. Places of worship were in many localities either burnt or converted into hospitals, prisons, or even stables, their pews and galleries cut up for fuel. Out of nineteen church-edifices in New York only nine could be used for worship when the war was over. The ministers had in numerous cases to flee for their lives. During the siege of Boston all but two of the Boston pastors fled from the city. Mr. Schmidt, the Lutheran pastor

at Germantown, was obliged to do the same while the enemy occupied that place; the English possession of New York drove F. A. C. Muhlenberg away from his church, and on their approach to Philadelphia his brother, Henry Ernest, was compelled to flee with his family. Returning for a season he was again forced to retire. "Disguised under a blanket, with a rifle on his shoulder, he nearly fell into the enemy's hands, through the treachery of a Tory innkeeper."

Whole congregations were dispersed and in numerous cases absolutely extinguished. The attendance of hundreds before the war was reduced sometimes to less than a dozen after its close. Of the ninety-five Episcopal parishes in Virginia, twenty-three had during the progress of the war become "extinct or forsaken, and of the remaining seventy-two, thirty-four were destitute of ministerial services, while of the ninety-one clergymen, twenty-eight only remained who had lived through the storm." One of the two Lutheran congregations in New York city disappeared altogether during this period, while those in New Jersey and Pennsylvania suffered severely.

"At Ebenezer, in Georgia," says Dr. Hazelius, "the war and its detrimental consequences to the cause of religion were felt more than in any other part of our Church. The people were in general attached to the principles of our revolution. From the very commencement they took an active part in favor of liberty. They argued: 'For the sake of liberty we have left home, lands, houses, estates, and have taken refuge in the wilds of Georgia; shall we now again submit to bondage? No, we will not,' Upon this

principle they acted throughout the contest and on account of their devotion to it they were driven from their homes by the British forces. One of their ministers had unfortunately embraced the other side, and actually went so far in his Tory zeal and unnatural wickedness, as to lead the enemy to Ebenezer, to aid in the destruction of the settlements, and in driving the inhabitants to the inhospitable wilderness. Their beautiful house of God was turned into a stable for the horses of the British soldiers, and sometimes served as a Lazaretto for the sick and wounded." When the victorious close of the war permitted the poor exiles to return they found their beloved Ebenezer destroyed. They now erected buildings on their farms and plantations and thus became scattered over a distance of from two to ten miles from the former town of Ebenezer. The congregation was virtually broken up and was without a pastor. And the history of this community is but a picture of the general distress that overwhelmed many hitherto flourishing congregations.

The ministers were in large part seized by the martial spirit and rushing to the defense of their country abandoned their suffering and exposed flocks. Some went forth as chaplains, others exchanged the sword of the Spirit for the carnal weapon. The oldest son of the Patriarch Muhlenberg, John Peter Gabriel, who served both Lutheran and Episcopal churches in Virginia, fired by the general political and patriotic excitement, gave notice to his congregations of his farewell sermon. A large audience assembled. At the conclusion of divine service, he exclaimed,

"There is a time of war and a time of peace, and now the time to fight has come," and throwing back his clerical robe he stood before them in a colonel's uniform and the next day was off for the war.

Others, conversant with public affairs, gave up, like the younger Muhlenberg, F. A. C., the pulpit for the forum, the office of spiritual shepherd of the people for that of their political representative in the halls of legislation.

Thus while the preaching and the general influence of the clergy had been for some time "rather martial than sanctifying and spiritual," their sermons sounding the notes of freedom and the tocsin of war, and promoting, in this way, the tendency to indifferentism and worldliness, many now became entirely secularized. Their spiritual warfare was doomed to a truce. "In many localities the means of grace were wholly suspended for a long time, and the religious safeguards were broken down." The ministrations of the Gospel ceased just when the need for them was sorest. The churches generally throwing all their influence in support of the cause of independence, experienced retroactively almost total paralysis, especially throughout the Middle States, in which the Lutheran congregations were mainly found. "Religion suffered serious decay, and the churches presented a wide scene of desolation." The revolution in government was attended by a revolution in the Church, which was as baneful in its fruit as the former was beneficent.

The war for independence lasted eight years. Surely the agitations and the immoralities of this

long period, the neglect of the ordinances and the virtual suspension of spiritual activity in many communities, attended often by the unhappy division of sentiment regarding the war, which separated families and broke up many prosperous congregations, would sufficiently account for a state of profound spiritual apathy, worldliness and disorder, from which it seemed for years after the conclusion of peace impossible to rouse the churches.

But the devastations of the Revolution had been preceded by the devastations and harassments of a nine years' struggle, 1754-1763, between the English and the French for the possession of the country. And they were followed by a series of national difficulties and political dissensions, which with the universal financial distress and the grinding taxation became a severer strain on patriotism and on morals than the war itself had been. That was the critical period of our country's history, "the era of bad feeling," the dark age of American Christianity.

Thus for more than a generation, from the outbreak of the French-Indian war to the inauguration of President Washington, the whole country was torn and swept by the ravages of war, and the churches, besides sharing in the general suffering, were rent and desolated by the greater ravages of party violence and passion. A period of endless antagonism and irritation, a state of restlessness, recklessness and insecurity, brought the public mind to the verge of despair, the Church to the borders of destruction.

The two bloody contests had introduced a more terrible and murderous enemy than even grim-visaged

war itself. War slays its thousands, Infidelity its tens of thousands. During the French and Indian war English officers and soldiers introduced deistical sentiments among our people. Young Americans in the army readily imbibed these new ideas, drank deeply of the poisoned cup and on their return home spread the contagion among the circles in which they moved, producing everywhere a relaxation in morals as well as a defection in religion.

The Revolution brought us the generous and memorable assistance of the French arms, but the very gratitude of our people for this timely and priceless intervention, and the peculiarly friendly relations which bound the two nations together, served only to predispose many of our leading minds to French ideas of religion. Our sense of indebtedness assumed the form of an infatuation for everything represented by the French, so that Americans became easy victims to their specious theories. Our statesmen, fired with enthusiasm over France, came under the spell of its atheism. A frightful apostasy from religion ensued. Skepticism and reckless blasphemy became common. Infidelity was never more rampant and more aggressive and bitter, never more prevalent among influential citizens and professional men, never more deleterious in its work. Revelation was decried as without authority or evidence, moral obligation as a cobweb. "The clergy were a laughing stock or objects of disgust." Young men, especially, became enamored of the new ideas. Bishop Meade of Virginia wrote that scarcely a young man of any literary culture believed in Christianity.

In 1795 Yale College had but four or five students who made profession of the Christian faith. Princeton a few years earlier reported two, and its President, Dr. Smith, complained grievously of the mischievous and fatal effects which the prevalent infidelity had wrought in the moral and religious character of the students.

The minds of multitudes had become unsettled. There was a general breaking away from the old moorings of faith and life. "Wild and vague expectations were everywhere entertained especially among the young, of a new order of things about to commence, in which Christianity would be laid aside as an obsolete system, would altogether disappear."

The Christian Church, stricken and suffering from the desolations of nearly twenty years of war, with many of her watchmen, like the Muhlenberg brothers, permanently detached from the pastoral office, was in no condition to stem this dark tide of unbelief with its attendant decay of piety and moral degeneracy. But this was not the worst. The Church feeling the assaults of her enemies, and fully alive to her perils and responsibilities, might even in the face of all these untoward circumstances, have withstood this onset of the powers of darkness and achieved a glorious victory by that faith which overcometh the world. But her sword had become blunted, the temper of her weapons sadly vitiated. An eviscerated creed sapped her energy and made her impotent against the attacks of a determined and panoplied foe.

Coincident with the revolutionary struggle and the ensuing internal conflicts, and doubtless in a measure

growing out of and stimulated by these, a wave of rationalism came into the land and gradually passed over all denominations. The spirit of independence was abroad, and along with the renunciation of the old forms of government men were ready to cast off the old forms of faith, to repudiate a strict spiritual authority as well as an oppressive political rule. With freedom of religion made a part of the organic law of the land men advocated the broadest toleration, the utmost liberty of thought, within the pale of the churches. Along with the strong revulsion against the rigorous Calvinism of New England, came a general reaction against all "human" systems of faith. Orthodoxy was unfashionable. "Creeds and Confessions were abhorred, and freely denounced in sermons." It was even claimed that they were "outworn" and had been "generally laid aside." A few fundamentals were all that was needed. And doctrines that had always been deemed fundamental received the sneer and sarcasm of the pulpit. Reason was made the arbiter of faith. Rationalistic methods and contrivances were applied to all phases of Christian revelation and life. The Church, the pillar and ground of the truth, nurtured and sheltered the spirit of doubt until she became verily the bulwark of unbelief. Instead of staying the tide of infidelity and its concomitant dissipation and materialism, she contributed to swell its volume. And it is not without significance that along with the dark picture given of the low morality of the people, it is generally claimed that that of the clergy was not much higher. Laxity of moral and religious sentiment among all classes was the feature of the age.

Thus the influences from every quarter combined for the corruption of society, for the alienation of the people from the sanctuary, for the depravation of the faith and the paralysis of all forms of Christian activity. In the crisis that called for the Church's most earnest exertions and the marshaling of her spiritual powers, she was found despoiled of her best armor, her energy sapped, her right arm palsied. What remained in her pale from the desolations of war was taken possession of by rationalism, and rationalism extinguishes Christian zeal and cuts the nerve of Christian action.

This defection from the faith extended to all denominations. Some of the pulpits openly espoused Unitarianism, others proclaimed Universalism, while many others gave voice to kindred forms of rationalism, all agreeing in their hostility to the the theology of the Reformation.

It was therefore impossible for the Church to fulfil her mission. Her enemies were intensely active, she herself was lukewarm, and her resistance to the mighty foe was feeble and desultory. The degeneracy of morals in society had a correlative in the lamentable decay of piety in the Christian community. The Church was conformed largely to the lax and worldly elements outside of it. Discipline was out of vogue. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, after similar deliverances in previous years, declared in 1798: "We perceive with pain and fearful apprehension a general dereliction of religious principle and practice—an abounding infidelity—a *dissolution* of religious society seems to be *threatened*. Formality and deadness, not to say hypocrisy, visibly per-

vade every part of the Church. The profligacy and corruption of public morals have advanced with a progress proportioned to our declension in religion."

The Evangelical Lutheran Church had her full share of these disastrous experiences. Rev. Storch writing from North Carolina, in 1803, says: "Party spirit has risen to a fearful height. The prevalence of infidelity, the contempt of the best of all religions, its usages and servants, the increase of irreligion and crime, have occasioned me many sad hours." She had fearful trials in addition to those which threatened the extinction of other denominations that had advanced beyond her in organization and growth. She was subjected to fiery ordeals which once more and to the last degree tested her vitality and her inherent powers of endurance.

The discontinuance of aid from the mother Church in Germany which coincided with the war between England and the colonies, was no calamity. Commerce was rendered precarious, and neither pastors nor literature nor any other contributions to the maintenance of the Church any longer flowed in, but this was one of those blessings that come disguised in the garb of adversity. Rationalism, now at its height, had poisoned the heart of Germany. Even pietistic Halle, had become the center of that "Illuminism" which made war upon the old faith in the creeds and liturgies and hymns of the Reformation. It was a sovereign mercy to the Lutheran Church of America that intercourse with Germany was broken off just at this juncture, and that young, feeble and exposed as she was, she escaped the full force of that destructive

rationalism, which reigned in the latter country and in many localities uprooted the institutions of the Gospel. It was enough that she became a prey to the dominant laxity of faith in this country and to the indirect influences of unbelief which from time to time were borne to her bosom in her own language from across the sea.

A peculiar trial involved in the development of the Lutheran Church in America, scarcely less serious than the temporary defection of doctrine and as wide reaching and pernicious in its consequences, was the conflict of language. This ordeal, relatively unknown to other communities, she had unfortunately to encounter in this critical period. The three large Dutch Reformed congregations in New York, in whose services an English note had never been heard before the Revolution, readily accepted the inevitable, and surrendered the dialect of the Stuyvesants, but the great body of our German ancestors had no idea of making such a concession to the language of their adopted country.

To say nothing of the much greater preponderance of Germans in comparison with the Dutch, or of the steadfastness and tenacity which characterizes the German mind, it is certainly not to the discredit of those people that they clung with a religious and passionate devotion to their mother tongue, the tongue of their fatherland and of their holy mother Church. To part with a language means far more than the surrender of forms of expression, grammatical structure and linguistic idioms. It is almost equivalent to the immolation of a people on the altar of a foreign and

unfriendly race. Their past is to be severed from their future. The ideas, the modes of thought, the literary and devotional treasures, the usages and the habits of a people, their most sacred traditions, their very history, must sooner or later be given up and lost, when once their language is no longer the vehicle of their daily intercourse and of their public worship. The fear has often been voiced that the very faith of a people loses its identity and individuality by being transferred to another tongue.

It is the refinement of cruelty as well as the height of political sagacity when tyrants compel the conquered races in their dominion to use the language of the conqueror in every department of education. A province is not subdued until it surrenders its vernacular. To what extent the fathers in this country comprehended the significance of the change we do not know, but they contended against it with a violence and a persistence as if the loss of their language in public worship was tantamount to the extinction of their Church and the loss of all that was dear.

The Lutheran Church of America glories to-day in her polyglot character and rejoices in the Providence that enables her ministers, like the Apostles on the day of Pentecost, to declare to all the diversified nationalities that flock to these shores, "in their own tongues, the wonderful works of God." This certainly emphasizes the world-wide reach of her mission and the golden harvests that await her sickle in all communities and localities. But the language problem has also proved to her the occasion of untold calamities. The fierce opposition to the introduction of

English services, the unprotestant attempt to confine her worship to a foreign tongue, became in all the great centres of population the most serious obstacle to her success, lost multitudes to her fold, limited her sphere, cramped her spirit, confined her influence, and placed her at such disadvantage to the other Churches of the land that even to this day, after bleeding and suffering from it for a hundred years, the Lutheran Church still feels the consequences of this policy. It was as ruinous in results as it was irrational in theory. It was essentially a blow at her life. The effort to make the Lutheran Church a church for the Germans only was a stab at her evangelical and apostolical character, which devolves upon her the mission of giving the restored Gospel to the world and preaching it in every tongue. It was the renunciation of her birthright. It was casting aside her crown. No wonder that in some localities it almost caused her extinction and in all places it inflicted on her irreparable injury.

This opposition to English did not manifest itself in the earlier colonial period. Muhlenberg conducted English services before he was in the country a year, and in New York he officiated in Dutch and English as well as in German. So his colleagues and his sons eagerly mastered the language of the country that they might extend the area of their ministrations, recognizing the duty of providing the young as well as their unchurched fellow-citizens with the word of life, and doubtless foreseeing the inevitable disasters which must follow the neglect of opportunities and the failure to meet responsibilities. An English address was

delivered at the dedication of St. Michael's in 1748. Handschuh, who became pastor at Germantown in 1751, officiated there occasionally in the English language. Their Swedish contemporaries were capable of using the English tongue and preached it not only in their own churches but very frequently also in the churches of their English neighbors. Pastor Rudman early in the eighteenth century supplied regularly two Episcopal churches in and near Philadelphia during the vacancy of their pulpits. Hesselius in 1721 received ten pounds per annum from the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel" for preaching twenty times a year in the vacant English churches.

The Episcopal Church in its feeble infancy in Pennsylvania was nursed by the Swedish pastors, who at various places and for considerable periods preached in its pulpits while the congregations were destitute of a pastor of their own order. And this they did, too, not for any worldly gain, for they often received no compensation for their labor, not even the payment of their expenses. They were in fact instructed by the Archbishop of Sweden "to attend no vacant English congregations for a salary or for the sake of gain." Should they find time from their arduous labors among their own congregations to visit the destitute English population, they should do this from the promptings of Christian charity, and such services as they conducted for them, they were further charged, must be "according to our Evangelical Lutheran doctrine and discipline."

They ministered in this way, from time to time, to quite a number of Episcopal congregations and, in fact,

as the Episcopalians were then but few and in mean circumstances in this province, kept some of them from extinction. Their services were in demand by the English residents in every quarter, the people entreating their administration of the ordinances, as "otherwise their children would become unchristened heathen, or Quakers, and their churches would be changed into stables alongside of Quaker meeting-houses." Their "ready assistance and substantial services" were acknowledged by Episcopal clergymen. Although their preaching and their ministrations gave them great influence with these Episcopal congregations, and they are said to have been as popular with them as with their own people, they were so devoid of the sectarian spirit that it never occurred to them to alienate these congregations from their denominational body, though this might no doubt have been easily accomplished. When the situation was in after years unfortunately reversed, and these very Swedish churches had to seek supplies from the Episcopal clergy, the spirit which dominated this assistance was also the reverse of that which prompted the Lutheran ministers with great personal sacrifice to dispense the Gospel to their Anglican brethren. How such ignoble sectarianism succeeded in wresting those churches from the parent trunk need not here be detailed.

Most of the pastors who served the Swedish churches and rendered so much assistance to the Episcopalians were men of liberal education and quite acceptable preachers, and as a rule could officiate very satisfactorily both in German and in English. Their own congregations were at an early period quite willing to

have the English introduced, the English services being regularly conducted in the afternoon, sometimes at night. Some churches had "generally double preaching, first in German, then in English, almost every Sunday." This was felt to be necessary not only for the sake of some of the Swedish descendants who did not understand Swedish, but also for the sake of so many English living around, who although connected with the English Church would otherwise have had no church service. At the funeral of pastor Tranberg in 1748 an English discourse was delivered. In 1763 Von Wrangel delivered a series of lectures in St. Michael's Church in the same language.

Sometimes the newly arrived Swedish pastors felt constrained to attempt preaching in English before they had a sufficient command of the language. But they made rapid progress in its acquisition and soon delighted their English auditors. One of them, the Rev. Dylander, whose Christian zeal and fluency in the German enabled him to found German churches at Germantown and Lancaster, regularly conducted an early morning service in German in his church at Wicacoa, preached at the usual hour in Swedish and in the afternoon in English, and his English was so elegant and his address so engaging that he captivated the English population, and he became so popular with that element that he was called upon to solemnize most of their marriages. This so excited the English Episcopal clergyman that he lodged a complaint against him before the Governor, who, however, declined interfering, declaring that the people had in this country the right to get married wherever they pleased.

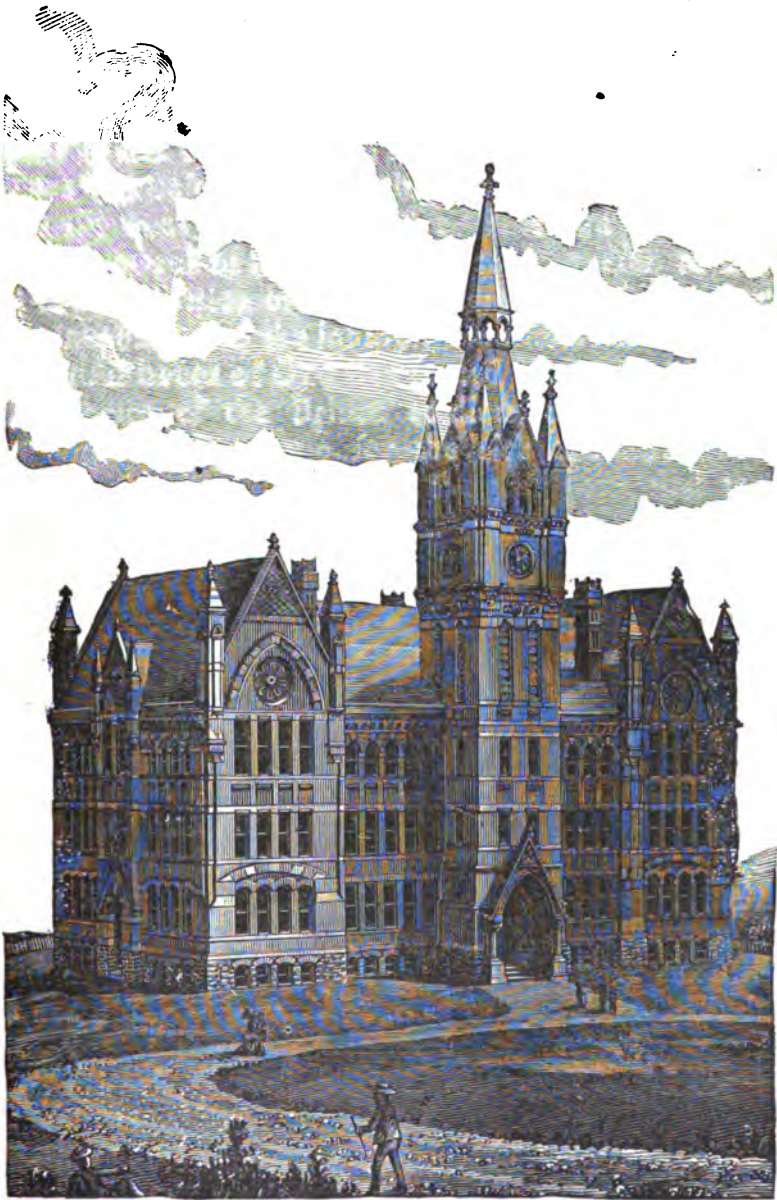
Von Wrangel also drew such crowds that he was obliged often to preach in the open air.

No serious disturbance seems to have been caused by the use of several languages in public worship prior to the Revolutionary war. Even amid the storms of the great conflict Rev. Streit introduced it in South Carolina. Pastor Knoll, who withdrew from the New York church in 1750, was accustomed to hold English services there. The patriarch Muhlenberg during his brief pastorates in that city in 1751 and 1752 held an English service each Sunday evening, which was more largely attended than any other service. "The descendants of the Dutch families, who could no longer speak or understand the tongue of their fathers, and many of the surrounding community crowded the church." Many Episcopalians were in attendance. This may have been the real ground for the complaint that his loud preaching disturbed the worship in Trinity Church just across the street. It was the first evening service of any kind ever held in the church and as no fixtures for lighting the building had been provided, candles were fastened on top of the pews. "There was but one copy of the Hymn Book used on hand and Mr. Muhlenberg was wont to give out the lines and lead the singing. When he found that the German chorals were unfamiliar to the English audience he selected hymns with metres found also in English hymns and used familiar English tunes, when the whole congregation united heartily." Dr. B. M. Schmucker further observes: "However Mr. Berkenmeier may have disliked the pietists, there were many earnest Christian souls in the surrounding congrega-

tions who were drawn to the services by the fervent, pungent, practical and evangelical preaching of Muhlenberg. The English urged the erection of galleries in the church to accommodate the numerous attendants."

The impulse thus given to the prosperity of that congregation, the large attendance of such as were not identified with the Lutheran Church or with the German population, indicate what might have been had the language of the country at the right juncture been everywhere introduced into Lutheran worship. It admits of no question that if Muhlenberg could have remained at New York, Trinity Lutheran Church would not only have become united and very strong but would at an early day have grown into a flourishing English Lutheran congregation. Nor can there be any doubt that such a congregation in New York a century ago would have immeasurably affected the development of Lutheranism in that city, and that the Mother of Protestantism would hold there to-day a commanding and influential position second to no other communion.

This liberal policy of the patriarch and his colleagues, so consonant with the Protestant character of the Church, so well adapted to her mission and so full of promise, was unhappily and completely reversed at the close of the Revolution. And the excitements, animosities and convulsions of that protracted struggle had no little share in bringing about this ill-fated change, which seriously arrested the progress of the Church and for a long period crippled her activity and confined her influence. The spirit which had



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been raised for the purpose of exciting and sustaining the revolt did not subside when the contest was over. It remained to plague the land as the demon of strife and of party spirit in all the relations of society. The people had been long habituated to contend for their rights, to resent the slightest infringement of them, to chafe against all forms of government and to resist everything that savored of authority. They were irritable, contentious, ready to quarrel over any trifle, with no respect for magistrates and no consideration for the rights of others. Political excitement kept the public mind at the highest tension and domestic commotions often threatened greater calamities than a foreign foe had inflicted.

That the Germans had a serenity of temper and pacific instincts which kept them out of the general turmoil, is not to be expected. It is not their nature. Nay their communities had some additional and peculiar causes of irritation and bad feeling. The people had been lamentably divided in their attitude toward the war. "Many of the old German settlers, who had on their arrival taken the oath of allegiance to the British Crown, conscientiously entertained the opinion that they ought not to act contrary to their sworn promise, while the majority of their brethren in the faith adopted without hesitation the new order of things, and cheerfully defended the cause of liberty and independence with their blood and treasure." This difference of sentiment was the occasion of great bitterness of feeling and caused not only blighting divisions in families but in many cases destroyed flourishing congregations.

1870

Such was the state of mind in which the people were found when the German churches had to meet the problem of introducing the English language, a problem on which was suspended the life or the death of the Church in this country. For its solution there was needed pre-eminently a spirit of conciliation, a supreme purpose to harmonize by concessions, to effect unity and promote the general good by the surrender of individual preference and rights. But these golden virtues were unhappily absent and the respective congregations were so charged with contentions, factions, and arbitrary elements, that the proposal to introduce the language of the nation was the signal for the outbreak of strife and bitter dissensions, and the temporary triumph of the opposition paralyzed the energies of the Church and arrested her normal development.

How much German conservatism may have contributed to this conflict, how far those tardy and unprogressive national characteristics, which never hurry to conform to new conditions and never change merely for the sake of change, may have united with the stormy passions of the period in the fixed opposition to the use of English cannot now be determined. German became the party clamor. German literature, German education, German character, was all the cry, and blinded by prejudice and passion, possibly, too restrained in some measure by reverence for ancestral institutions and the mother tongue, these people morbidly failed to understand that the founding of a new nation meant inevitably the obliteration of national distinctions, to which the Church, according to her

own genius and mission, must at every cost except the sacrifice of truth adapt herself.

The contention was sharp, violent and protracted. In some places, as in Philadelphia, the parties were pretty equally divided and the annual election of officers turned on this question and witnessed scenes more becoming a political convention than the house of God. As many as 1400 votes were polled in the joint congregation in the year 1806, and when the German party once more won the day a colony withdrew and founded St. John's, the first exclusively English church in Pennsylvania, which for more than fifty years had for its pastor Rev. Philip F. Mayer, D. D., one of the most accomplished and useful men that have honored the Lutheran pulpit.

So fixed was the determination of many to have the German tongue not only during their natural lives but to perpetuate it at any cost, that the civil law was invoked and the congregations adopted charters requiring the exclusive and permanent use of the German. The language of worship must be as unalterable as the laws of the Medes and Persians. Even the Ministerium "must remain a German-speaking body," and it was enacted that "no proposition can be entertained which would render necessary any other language than the German in synodical meetings and business transactions."

Education, literature, legislation, courts, ordinary trade and public intercourse, were conducted in the English language, whereas the Church called of God to permeate, purify and sanctify all these, was by a strange infatuation decreed to be German. That she

survived such a suicidal policy is another proof that her life is from God, and that notwithstanding the perversity and unfaithfulness which at times are opposed to her progress, the gates of hell cannot prevail against her. Only a divine institution can survive the follies and passions of its adherents.

While this hostility to using the language of the country in public worship proved exceedingly detrimental to the general interests of the Church, its ruinous effects were especially glaring in the large cities of New York and Philadelphia. In the former city the Anglicized descendants of the Dutch as well as the rising generation of the Germans were constrained to separate by hundreds and even thousands from the Church of their fathers, and in Philadelphia a similar withdrawal of the educated and progressive elements went on for years. Many who remained became indifferent to sanctuary services of which they understood but little, and lost their interest in a church that refused to them and their children the Gospel in the language of their country. And these serious losses aggravated in turn the strife between the parties who favored and those who opposed the introduction of English, rendering peace and prosperity impossible.

This insane policy opposed to the providence of God and the universal practice of Protestants, as well as to the dictates of reason, caused immeasurable injury to all the best interests of the Church. Its most far-reaching and disastrous consequence was the insurmountable barrier it raised to the establishment of schools for higher education and for the training of

candidates for the sacred office. The Synod as well as the principal congregations being divided into warring factions, harmony of operation, so essential to success in any project, was out of the question. The Germans could not favor the founding of an institution which would inevitably give prominence to English and strengthen that element. The English party had no mind to contribute to an academy or college designed to perpetuate the German as the language of their Church. Thus for nearly half a century all educational movements were frustrated. And that church which is the parent of modern education as surely as she is the mother of Protestantism, was left without a single educational agency except her parochial schools, and a large portion of her ministry and especially her laity sank to a level of intelligence that became as much of a reproach as it was a calamity.

In spite of the unhappy condition of the Lutheran Church in this period, in spite of the overwhelming obstacles which she encountered and which cast their portentous shadows far into the future, there was some advance, some extension of her borders. But it did not have the proportions which the faithful labors and the bright prospects of the previous period had anticipated and which the golden opportunities now warranted. Contrasted with the activities and progress of the Church before the war, this has been very properly regarded an era of declension. Yet there was life. The word of the cross resounded from many Lutheran pulpits and silently wrought as the power of God unto salvation. Many of the ablest preachers were indeed heard no more. Schaum, after a faithful

ministry of thirty-three years, entered into his rest in 1778. The elder Muhlenberg, after a career of unsurpassed usefulness and apostolic power, extending over a period of forty-five years, passed away amid the most touching expressions of his faith and love on October 7, 1787. His two gifted sons, Frederick A. C. and John Peter Gabriel, who had begun their ministerial labors before they had reached their majority, and had early developed eminent capacity for the sacred calling, had been swept by patriotic enthusiasm, the one into the arena of politics, the other into the field of battle. And they never returned to the ministrations of the altar, but filled spheres of usefulness and distinction in the service of their country. Frederick was elected to the Continental Congress in 1779, was re-elected a number of times, and in the first and third Congress after the adoption of the Constitution was chosen Speaker of the House. Peter became a Major-General in the army, sustained intimate relations to General Washington, was elected Vice-President of Pennsylvania in 1785 when Franklin was chosen President, was a member of the First Congress, the Third and the Sixth. In 1801 he became a United States Senator, which post he resigned to accept the appointment from Jefferson of Collector of the Port at Philadelphia. His statue in the National House of Representatives is one of the two contributed by Pennsylvania to that illustrious collection of patriots and statesmen.

But what was gain to the state was loss to the church. The glorious achievements of such men in political life show what they might have accomplished

had they returned to the Church which needed their services even more than the young republic. And it is an example of the ordeal which the Church had to sustain at that time, through the diversion of much of her most serviceable material to the paths of civil life. The Muhlenbergs undoubtedly illustrate the general tendency of the age. The interests of the Church were sacrificed to the urgent and all-engrossing political and material issues.

Provost Von Wrangel of the Swedish churches, the loving and sweet friend of Muhlenberg, who had been personally a source of great encouragement to him, who had rendered invaluable services to the Church in general and guided many souls to the experience of grace, had been recalled to Sweden, and had preceded his noble friend to the heavenly reward. Gerock, who had preached fourteen years at Lancaster, had served as its first pastor and for six years the new and spacious Christ Church in New York, died as pastor of the church in Baltimore, in 1787, after a pastorate of fourteen years. Other devoted and faithful men, having in less conspicuous scenes rendered the full measure of their strength to the cause, were from time to time summoned to their rest, and there were but few of equal capacity and devotion to take their places. No more laborers were sent over by the Halle Directors, the Rev. J. F. Weinland, who arrived in 1783, being the last. Nor were there any further arrivals from Sweden, the last being Nicholas Collin, sent over in 1771. Before the close of the Revolution the Swedes had to seek supplies from the Episcopal churches.

To reinforce the ministry to any extent from the native population was out of the question. The schools of the country had been almost everywhere broken up by the war, and the youth who should have been acquiring their education for the ministry were either called into the military service or, in the absence of the father in that service, required to take his place on the farm or in the shop.

Yet the Lord of the harvest did not suffer his fields to be wholly desolate. Good and worthy and able men labored with marked efficiency in various parts of the land. Helmuth and Schmidt, as joint pastors, had charge of the large congregation in Philadelphia, worshiping in the two churches of St. Michael's and Zion. The former was one of the most eloquent men of his day, and adhering strictly to the orthodox faith and speaking with the unction of spiritual fervor, he held and swayed his large audiences as with a spell. Schmidt was inferior to him in the gift of elocution, but was uniformly instructive in the pulpit and was most admired by his most intelligent hearers. He, too, was strictly orthodox and firmly opposed to the growing latitude which began to prevail among his brethren. Both of them were uncommonly faithful in their pastoral ministrations, and manifested in every way the deepest concern for the spiritual life of their congregation. During the prevalence of the yellow fever in Philadelphia, in 1793, they displayed heroic self-sacrifice in ministering to the sick and burying the dead. On one occasion when six hundred and twenty-five of his members had already been buried, Dr. Helmuth said from the pulpit, "Look

upon me as a dead man," and immediately went forth again to attend the sick and the dying.

F. D. Schaeffer, D. D., a devout and holy man, a disciple of the Arndt and Spener school, labored with notable zeal and success at Germantown, and when subsequently transferred to Philadelphia as the successor of Schmidt, actively urged that provision be made for those who understood only the English language, a position which is said to have caused him great suffering and the issue of which deeply grieved him. Besides his personal labors which are held in perpetual remembrance by his congregations he gave to the Lutheran ministry his four sons, all men of solid gifts and of eminent worth.

Dr. David Frederick Schaeffer, a man "almost unrivaled for general personal attractions, who labored in season and out of season; in town and in the country; on the Sabbath and during the week; in the pulpit and out of the pulpit; beside the sick-bed and in the catechetical class;" and held an intimate and influential relation to all the leading movements of his own denomination, and with many important public enterprises out of it, began preaching at Frederick, Md., at the age of twenty-one and continued his indefatigable labors there for thirty years. He was the founder of the first English periodical in the Church. Frederick Solomon was pastor at Hagerstown and died at the age of twenty-five. Dr. Frederick Christian during his three years pastorate at Harrisburg succeeded in introducing English services. In 1815 he accepted a call to Christ Church in the city of New York, where he preached in two languages until the erection of St

Matthew's church in 1823, from which time he preached exclusively in English. Dr. Charles Frederick Schaeffer, whose noble, intellectual and moral qualities made him a man of mark throughout the Church for fifty years, and whose labors as author, and as professor successively in the three principal theological institutions maintained by the Church in his time, secured him an influence not surpassed by any of his contemporaries, entered the ministry in 1832.

Dr. J. C. Kunze's extensive culture constituted him an "ornament of the American Republic of letters." He was one of the most profound men of his day, and he has always been considered one of the brightest lights that ever shone in the American Lutheran Church, which in turn he regarded with an enthusiastic devotion. He spent fourteen years as the associate of Helmuth in Philadelphia, and twenty-three years in laboring under great discouragements and trials for the upbuilding of his beloved Church in the city of New York. He belonged to the strict confessional party but was tolerant towards slight departures. He rejoiced with Helmuth over the fire which was kindled in their congregation in the year 1782, and later at New York. Those were precious hours to him when a penitent in tears came seeking help in the interests of his soul. His fearless rebuke of the desecration of the Lord's day exposed him to scurrillous attacks from his German countrymen. When the political and atheistical ideas of the French Revolution began to pervade the community to an alarming extent, he entered the lists along with such eminent divines as Mason, Linn and Livingston, "to sound

the alarm of danger then threatening our firesides and our altars."

Henry Ernest Muhlenberg, D. D., the youngest son of "the Patriarch," was a profound theologian and an original thinker, who held to the great truths of Christianity with much tenacity, but "could allow very considerable latitude on minor points." He was pastor of the Church at Lancaster for thirty-five years and maintained the most watchful oversight of the spiritual state of his flock. Rev. Benjamin Keller, one of his spiritual children, speaks of him as a "model pastor" and among other things states that "he appointed two days in the week immediately preceding the Communion for private conversation with those who intended to join in it. This gave him an opportunity of finding out the spiritual state of the communicants, and of counseling, admonishing, encouraging, comforting as the respective cases might require." Was it the prevalence of lax views of the Sacrament that led to the discontinuance of this practice, which at one time was general in the Church and which must commend itself to every pastor as reasonable and proper?

Rev. J. N. Kurtz, after experiencing almost unparalleled exposures and hardships at Tulpehocken for twenty-two years, labored till nearly the close of the century in and around York. He ardently espoused the cause of the colonies but was for a time seriously embarrassed by his oath of allegiance to King George. While the Colonial Congress sat at York, its chaplain, Rev. (afterwards Bishop) White, lodged in his house. He was one of the best Latin

scholars then in this country. In the pulpit he was a "son of thunder," a man of extraordinary moral courage, proclaiming the truth with indomitable boldness, yet he possessed withal such tact and tenderness, that the Lutheran churches lying far beyond his parish made continual requisition for his services for the allaying of strife, and the reconciliation of disaffected members. He was for the Lutheran churches in that region what Muhlenberg was for the churches in the eastern part of the State, in New Jersey and New York, their pacificator.

His son, Dr. J. Daniel Kurtz, "a man of much more than ordinary powers, an evangelical, impressive and earnest preacher, and an eminently faithful and affectionate pastor," had charge of the church in Baltimore for nearly fifty years, assisting for a while and finally succeeding his father's friend, Rev. Gerock.

After the retirement of Rev. J. N. Kurtz from York, that congregation was served by his son-in-law, the Rev. Jacob Gøering, who preached Jesus Christ and him crucified in such a way that "no one could listen to him without being convinced that he had a deep inward experience of every sentiment that he uttered," and whose ministry of twenty-five years was blest with extensive awakenings, which brought large numbers into the church, and gave an impetus to its prosperity which continues to this day. Although he had never entered the precincts of a college he mastered the Latin and Greek languages, the Hebrew and its cognates, became quite proficient in Church History and Patristics, and gathered a vast amount of information on almost every branch of science. When

strongly urged for nomination to the office of Governor of Pennsylvania, he declined on the ground that the kingdom which he served was not of this world, and that he coveted no higher honor than that of being a faithful minister of the Lord Jesus.

Among the representative ministers of the day a prominent rank was held by Dr. Christian Endress, who after holding for six years the position of principal of the large congregational school of Zion and St. Michael's in Philadelphia, took charge, in 1801, of the church at Easton, and in connection with it served for some years at intervals not less than a dozen localities on both sides of the river. In 1815 he succeeded the Rev. Dr. Henry E. Muhlenberg at Lancaster and in the face of powerful opposition and violent personal abuse succeeded in introducing the English language. He was an able and faithful minister of Christ, one that "you could never hear without feeling that you were in contact with a discriminating, powerful and earnest mind." He is classed with the "liberal party," and was "a decided Arminian." He was a diligent and independent student of the Scriptures.

Dr. John George Schmucker went to Hagerstown in 1794, a charge which then embraced eight congregations, and though he, like most of his Lutheran contemporaries, entered upon his work when quite a youth, he speedily acquired both in and out of the pulpit an influence which falls to the lot of comparatively few ministers. In 1809 he succeeded Gœring at York, where with unremitting assiduity and great success he labored for twenty-six years. He passed in his early years through profound religious experience



REV. PAUL HENKEL.

and he reached an advanced stage of spiritual life. He was, besides being a faithful pastor, a voluminous author. As a preacher he was earnest and impressive, fearless in exposing vice, unfaltering in his advocacy of moral reforms, and warmly attached to the American Bible and Tract Societies, which he regarded as "grand instrumentalities for the conversion of the world." Besides the eminent services he rendered the Church in founding and promoting some of her most important institutions, he is deserving of grateful remembrance, like Muhlenberg, Kurtz and Schaeffer, as the progenitor of successive generations of ministers that have added largely to the efficiency and glory of the Lutheran communion.

Among the most learned and laborious of the Lutheran divines of this period was the Rev. George Lochman, D. D., who from the year 1794 served the congregation at Lebanon with a number of affiliated congregations, extending his pastorate over twenty-one years and frequently declining invitations to more eligible fields of labor. In 1815 the peculiar circumstances of the congregation at Harrisburg constrained him to accept a call to that place, where his ministry continued to the close of his life in 1826, "with frequent and signal tokens of the divine favor." He gave his support to every measure that promised to advance the public welfare and, like Muhlenberg, Von Wrangel and others, maintained a fraternal attitude toward other evangelical bodies. But in his estimation the Lutheran Church was the one pre-eminently loved of Christ, and the only thing that could at any time disturb his unmeasured kindness of heart was "some in-

vation of what he esteemed the rights and prerogatives of the good old Lutheran Church, for which he entertained an affection next in strength and devotedness to that he felt for his divine Master."

A man of eminent attainments of character was the Rev. F. W. Geissenhainer, D. D., who completed his theological studies at several German Universities before the age of eighteen, and who, on account of his extraordinary qualifications for the office, was ordained at twenty, in a country where the rule was twenty-five. Coming to America in 1793, he labored in Montgomery county, Pa., until he was called to New York on the death of Dr. Kunze in 1808. Returning some years later to his former charge in Pennsylvania, he was recalled to New York in 1822, and remained pastor of St. Matthew's Church until the close of his earthly life in 1838.

In North Carolina the war reduced the churches to a feeble and impoverished condition. Rev. Adolphus Nussman, whom the Consistory of Hanover had sent as a missionary to that province in 1773, was still laboring there. Through him an appeal for help was forwarded to a mission society founded in connection with the University of Helmstædt for the purpose of extending aid to the brethren in that region. Besides other substantial forms of relief for their spiritual destitution, this society sent over in 1788 a young minister by the name of Charles Augustus Gottlieb Storch. He had received University training, possessed a wide range of knowledge, and besides his familiarity with Hebrew, Greek and Latin, was able to converse fluently in five or six languages. His preaching was

interesting and edifying to all classes ; "for his thoughts were presented with such admirable perspicuity that the most illiterate could comprehend them ; and yet they were so rich and elevated, and often powerful, that the best educated minds could not but admire them." He located at Salisbury and served from the first, in connection with that, two other places ; but he soon established other congregations in Rowan, Lincoln and Cabarras counties, and paid several visits to destitute churches in South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. In the pastoral relation he is said to have been a model of tenderness, diligence and fidelity. Repeatedly invited to occupy other and more eligible fields, he declined them all in view of the great dearth of ministers from which that region was suffering, though his learning and eloquence would have fitted him for the most cultivated and refined communities. His son, Rev. Theophilus Stork, D. D., the founder of St. Mark's, Philadelphia, and of St. Mark's, Baltimore, was an eloquent and polished divine ; and his grandson, Charles A. Stork, D. D., who succeeded his father in Baltimore and who was cut off in the prime of his usefulness while Professor of Theology at Gettysburg, was a brilliant example of sanctified culture.

Frederick Henry Quitman, D. D., the father of Major-General Quitman, studied at Halle during the period of "Illumination," under such lights as Semler, Gruner and others of the Rationalistic School. He arrived in this country from Holland in 1795. For thirty years he divided his labors among a number of churches on the Hudson, often preaching seven or

eight times a week, either in the German, Low Dutch or English language.

Rev. Christian Streit served for some time as chaplain of the Army of Independence, and was taken prisoner by the British while he was pastor at Charleston, S. C. He took charge of the church at Winchester, Va., in 1785, and also of the one at Strasburg, formerly included in Rev. (Gen.) Peter Muhlenberg's pastoral district. He continued to labor in this field until summoned to his reward in 1812. He acted as bishop of all the churches in that part of the Valley of Virginia, and laid the foundations of numerous congregations throughout that whole region, preaching at first in both English and German; but the views and circumstances of his people allowed him in his later years to officiate exclusively in English.

Another minister "to whom both the nation and the Church, in their early and feeble day were alike indebted," was the Rev. John Nicholas Martin, who, while pastor at Charleston, S. C., during the Revolution, endured great sacrifices and sufferings on account of his ardent patriotism.

Such were the leading men who presided over the Evangelical Lutheran churches during the closing decades of the eighteenth century and the earlier years of the nineteenth. No other denomination could, at the time, boast of a ministry that surpassed them in intellectual culture, in pastoral aptitude and fidelity, and in the highest qualities of pulpit eloquence.

A Presbyterian clergyman, the Rev. William R. De-witt, D. D., who had an intimate personal acquaint-

ance with some of these fathers, says of them: "They were but one generation removed from those who first came to this country from Germany. They, for the most part, pursued their theological studies with them, and while doing so resided in their families. From them they imbibed much of that pastoral simplicity and kindness, which so greatly distinguished them as a class, and which contrasted so favorably with the sterner elements in the characters of many of the Scotch-Irish ministers, the first Presbyterian pastors of this region."

Under their earnest and laborious ministrations the older congregations maintained a steady prosperity. Such as had suffered most seriously from the ravages of the war, gradually revived, and new congregations were organized in many localities. The ministers who occupied the outer borders of the Church were zealously affected to care for the feeble churches in their vicinity and to extend the Gospel into the regions beyond. They undertook missionary tours into remote districts, gathering together the scattered children of the house of Luther, and planting in newer and destitute settlements the church of Christ as the centre of light and the bulwark of virtue. The Rev. Bager, who was for years pastor of the churches at York and at Hanover, was wont to visit every six weeks a small band of Lutherans at Baltimore, and extended his missionary journeys also westward as far as Grindstone Hill, in the neighborhood of Chambersburg, traversing an area extending fifty miles in one direction and fifty in another, and strewing over the soil the seeds of divine truth, from

which the more than one hundred churches of Baltimore, and of Franklin, Cumberland, Adams and York counties in Pennsylvania, are to-day reaping the harvest. A large number of excellent people, who trace their lineage to this active pioneer of Lutheranism, have an honorable place in the congregations which he founded. His grandson, Dr. H. L. Baugher, for a long time the President of Pennsylvania College, and the son and namesake of the latter, have in their devotion to the Church and their labors for its advancement proved themselves worthy descendants, while others have shown exceptional liberality in the support of her institutions.

No more active, indefatigable and self-denying missionary than the Rev. Paul Henkel ever labored in this country. He was a great-grandson of Rev. Gerhard Henkel, one of the first Lutheran ministers who came to this country from Germany. Serving at different times what might be regarded as a fixed charge at New Market, Va., and in Rowan County, N. C., he never confined himself to any such limitations. The whole surrounding country was his parish. He laid the foundations of quite a number of churches in Augusta, Madison, Pendleton and Wythe Counties, Va., and without authorization from any mission Board, and without dependence upon any missionary fund, he made repeated tours through western Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio; hunting up the lost; administering the Word and Sacraments; instructing and confirming the youth, and so far as practicable organizing new congregations. With all this he found time for the preparation of a

series of devotional volumes in English and in German, and took part in the training of quite a number of candidates for the ministry. He passed away from his earthly labors in 1825, but five sons took up his work in the church militant, and their honorable name, their zealous consecration to the Church and her doctrines, have been perpetuated without interruption in the Lutheran pulpit to the present day.

The Rev. John George Butler labored for some time in the Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania. Subsequently he visited the destitute Lutheran settlements in the territory now embraced in Huntingdon, Blair, Bedford and Somerset counties. Again he is found exploring the waste places of the State of Virginia. He made Botetourt county his headquarters, but with all the energies of an ardent soul he was constantly prosecuting missionary operations into districts lying far beyond, often making appointments a year in advance and never failing to meet them. "He was annually commissioned by the Synod of Pennsylvania to travel through the western part of Virginia and Tennessee, to stop for a time wherever there was a prospect of being especially useful, to catechise and confirm the young, to distribute copies of the Bible and the hymn-book, and to organize congregations wherever it was practicable."

In 1805 he removed to Cumberland, Md., where a congregation had been organized and a log house of worship erected in 1794. His regular charge consisted here of eight congregations, one forty-seven, another sixty miles from the place of his residence, receiving from all these congregations about one hundred and

fifty dollars. "In visiting a neighborhood remote from his residence he usually remained from four to eight weeks, preaching and catechising the youth daily, visiting the people from house to house, praying with them, and exhorting all to become Christians or to grow in grace. Before leaving, it was his custom to preach a farewell sermon at a school-house, in a mill, or some other convenient place, there being usually a very large attendance. At the close he requested all to unite with him in singing a farewell hymn. During the singing of the first stanza the fathers came forward and one by one gave him the parting hand. After he had spoken to them a few suitable words, they would turn and pass out of doors, generally weeping as they went. The mothers did the same while the next verse was being sung; then those whom he had confirmed; then all the rest, and finally he himself followed. Then in front of the house all arranged themselves in a circle, with him in the center, and thus they sang the remaining verses. After that he knelt with all of them on the cold ground, and spreading his hands to heaven prayed with and for them. The doxology followed and the benediction. And now in an instant he was upon his horse, and away he went, perhaps to return no more. The impression made by such a scene was overpowering. He wept and they wept; and in the remembrance of what he had said, the good seed of the word brought forth rich fruit,"—fruit which has kept ripening and multiplying for successive generations, and the gathering of which at this time employs the labors of scores of ministers in the western counties of Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania.

Thus rolled the wave of missionary operations till it reached, before the close of the century, the very summit of the Alleghenies. But the mountains themselves form no barriers to the spread of the Gospel. And weak and poorly organized as was the Church, the aggressive spirit of Christianity moved it to follow the streams of immigration and to plant the cross on the wild prairies of the west. One of the noblest of these pioneers was Rev William Carpenter, who after serving for twenty-six years the old Hebron church in Madison county, Va., followed a colony of his own congregation to Boone county, Ky. This little band had kept up religious meetings in their humble cabins for eight years when Mr. Carpenter paid them a visit to catechise the children and administer the Sacraments. He felt constrained to cast his lot among them and for twenty years, to the close of his life in 1833, he exercised his ministry in that remote region. During the same period a pupil of his, Rev. Geo. Daniel Flohr, cultivated a large missionary field in south-western Virginia. His residence was in Wythe county, but his congregations lay in three different counties, and four of them were distant from his residence, nine, twenty-two, thirty, and forty-seven miles.

In Pennsylvania we trace Rev. John Michael Steck taking charge of congregations in Bedford and Somerset counties, in the year 1789. He located at Greensburg in 1792, performing arduous missionary labors in that part of Pennsylvania, which was yet a wilderness. His son, Michael John Steck, accepted a call to Lancaster, Ohio, in 1816, and by appointment of Synod, made extensive missionary tours. He was the first

Lutheran minister to officiate in Columbus, O., holding services in an upper room of a private house in 1819. Rev. Colson was laboring at Meadville in 1814, to which place Rev. C. F. Heyer was sent out by the Pennsylvania Synod in 1817. He was the ideal of a Christian missionary and for sixty years rendered incalculable services to his Church both in this country and in India.

As the borders of Zion became extended and ministers and congregations were multiplying, the great distances to be travelled over in attending the annual meetings of the Pennsylvania Synod, as well as the desire to promote the efficiency of the churches through closer affiliation and a more compact organization, prompted the ministers in different states to organize separate conferences or associations. The first of these organizations, the second synod of the American Lutheran Church, was "The Synod and Ministerium of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the State of New York and adjacent parts," which was formed at Albany in the year 1786, with Dr. Kunze as President. Its constitution and regulations were almost identical with those of the mother synod, "except that the German language was not constituted either the language of synod, or that wherein divine service was to be celebrated, except where the circumstances of a congregation would require it." As early as 1815 it became almost entirely English. Although there were ten ministers between New York and Troy, and several in New Jersey, only three were present at the first convention. And of the more than twenty-five congregations only two were represented.

During the year 1788 seven ministers with fifteen congregations located in the Carolinas formed a kind of synodical organization under the title *Unio Ecclesiastica* of the German Protestant Churches in the State of South Carolina. Its principal object seems to have been to provide "for the proper legal incorporation of all the German churches which were located in the interior of the state." The evil of confounding or merging the two Churches into one was carefully guarded against, and the act of incorporation stipulates that "it is not to be understood that any member of either confession should forsake his confession, but that both Lutheran and Reformed, who are members of one or the other of the incorporated Churches, and who have hitherto united in the attendance on worship, shall continue to enjoy the same rights and privileges, without the least reproaches in consequence of their respective confessions." Nor can this corporate alliance be chargeable with unsoundness in the faith on the part of the Lutherans, for "all the Evangelical Lutheran ministers were formally sworn on the Symbolical Books" at the first meeting. Rev. Friedrich Daser, A. M., was chosen Senior or President, Rev. F. A. Wallberg, Secretary. Both were Lutherans, as were in fact all but two of the ministers, and nine of the fifteen congregations.

The ecclesiastical consciousness of that region seems to have been at that time somewhat confused, since the first convention of the Lutheran Church in North Carolina, held in St. John's Church, Cabarras county, May 1794, proceeded to examine and ordain a minister for the Episcopal Church. His name was

Robert Johnson Miller, and this extraordinary invasion of Episcopal prerogative on the part of a Lutheran Ministerium was in response to a petition from Mr. Miller's people of White Haven Church, in Lincoln county. It must have been in strange times that Episcopalians could forget the Apostolic Succession and Lutherans ordain a man to minister for that denomination. Rev. Miller's ordination certificate is still extant. It ought to be deposited with the House of Bishops as a companion piece of the memorable deliverance on the "Historic Episcopate."

This conference seems to have been called for no other purpose than the ordaining of Mr. Miller. No synodical organization was effected until the year 1803. The principal impulse leading to the organization seems to have been the great religious awakening which passed over the country in the first years of the present century. The ablest minds of the Church in that section, Revs. Storch and Henkel, became greatly disturbed and perplexed over the phenomena which they witnessed and which in some measure unsettled their own people. They hesitated to call the movement fanatical or to denounce it as unscriptural, for they discovered a remarkable change in persons who had been previously either ungodly in their lives or avowedly skeptical in their views. As there was division of sentiment among the German ministers, this instead of leading to strife or alienation, "drove them to more intimate communion with each other in their official acts, and they had thus the opportunity to investigate this matter more closely."

About this time, too, the assistance which the

Helmstaedt Mission had been rendering to the churches in North Carolina came to an end, and these churches were accordingly thrown upon their own resources. Distracted by the revivalistic excitement, and deprived of the parental guidance and the material support of their friends in the fatherland, they felt the need of united counsels and active co-operation for their own defence and prosperity, and "that the instruction and quickening influence of the Gospel may be brought to many thousands of souls who have hitherto been necessarily deprived of the same." Thus originated at Salisbury, May 2d, 1803, the North Carolina Synod, or Conference, as these bodies were then sometimes called, exercising henceforth sole ecclesiastical jurisdiction in those parts. The Pennsylvania Ministerium had, in fact, never extended its jurisdiction beyond Virginia, the churches farther south having been under the care of a European missionary society, or else independent alike of the care or fellowship of any ecclesiastical body. The ministers present were Gottfried Arndt, Carl A. G. Storch, Paul Henkel and Robert J. Miller, who had been charged in his ordination certificate "to obey the rules, ordinances and customs of the Protestant Episcopal Church," but who, notwithstanding, served Lutheran congregations for twenty-seven years.

By this organization a new life appears to have been infused into the Lutheran Church in the Carolinas. With the exception of Rev. Faber in Charleston, who was doubtless prevented by the great distance which separated him from the localities where the synod usually met, and the Rev. F. J. Wallern, who always

remained independent of synodical connection, all the Lutheran ministers residing in South Carolina united subsequently with this body. The greatest drawback to large and rapid growth was the want of ministers of the Gospel, "and in order to supply this demand, pious laymen were licensed as catechets, who afterwards became candidates for the ministry; in this way originated the licensure system."

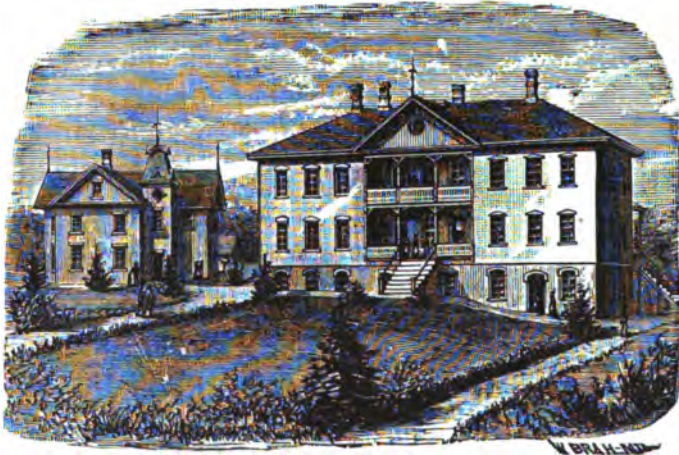
In October, 1812, some ten ministers, missionaries sent out by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, held in Washington county, Pa., the first ecclesiastical conference west of the Allegheny mountains. The organization of an independent body, which was discountenanced by the mother Synod, did not occur until September, 1817, at New Philadelphia, Ohio. It was the work of the younger members in opposition to the judgment of the older ones, and only three of the ministers participating in the organization had been ordained.

The Synod of Maryland and Virginia was formed in the year 1820.

Thus moved neither by doctrinal or ecclesiastical differences, nor, so far as known, by any other cause of dissension, but mainly by the circumstances of their situation and the consideration of the interests of the Church, there were organized four additional synods before the end of the first quarter of the present century. The extension of the Lutheran Church, notwithstanding great obstacles, kept pace with the growth of the country and with the rapid multiplication and expansion of our population. Its whole strength, which at the beginning of the century numbered but

seventy ministers and three hundred congregations, embraced now one hundred and sixty-four ministers, four hundred and seventy-five congregations, and forty-five thousand communicants. But one hundred of the congregations were pastorless.

The latter statement reveals the saddest feature of the Church at that period and brings into view the most serious barrier to her rapid progress. A number of circumstances combined unfortunately to pre-



WITTENBERG ORPHAN HOME, WITTENBERG, WIS.

vent the establishment of schools for the training of ministers, the inflow of suitable men from Germany had long since ceased, and in consequence there was such a dearth of laborers that nearly one-fourth of the congregations were deprived of pastoral ministrations, and but few preachers could be spared to prosecute missionary operations on the frontier.

The enlightened founders of the Church in this

country were not only alive to the interests of general education but with signal zeal they endeavored to develop institutions for the training of a ministry. The language of her people placed them even then already in comparison with others, at a great disadvantage, but this evil was sought to be remedied by a project devised by liberal-minded men like Benjamin Franklin, Conrad Weiser and William Smith, who secured large sums in England for the maintenance of elementary schools in which to educate and Anglicize the German population. But these efforts and the flourishing parochial school of Philadelphia could not supply a cultured ministry for the Church, and Dr. Kunze, at a day when apparently all the means and resources for such an institution were wanting, conceived the project of a High School, and, with his "Society for the promotion of Christianity and all useful knowledge among the Germans," opened, amid festive ceremonies, his "Deutsches Seminar," February 15, 1773. But this noble beginning of a theological school, which might have raised up a large body of cultured ministers, perished like many other precious institutions in the storms of the Revolution. "When peace was restored in 1783 there was no institution in which German youths could be advanced beyond the limits of the elementary branches."

This want was supplied in part through the University of Pennsylvania, then the foremost liberal school of the State, and which had connected with it from the year 1780 a German Department, that is a "German Professorship by which, through the medium of the German tongue, instruction in the learned languages

was to be imparted." The first incumbent of this professorship was the learned Dr. Kunze, who was succeeded in 1784 by his colleague in St. Michael's and Zion, the eloquent Dr. Helmuth. Their prestige and ability secured at once a liberal patronage, and as many as sixty students were in attendance during 1785, a number considerably greater than that of the English students, so that the large recitation room of the English, the most commodious and beautiful in the building, was given up to the Germans.

A number of Lutheran ministers received their classical training in this University, some of them being the beneficiaries of the German Society of Pennsylvania, among the latter such distinguished names as George Lochman, Christian Endress, David F. Schaeffer and Samuel Schmucker.

Franklin College was founded in 1787, but comparatively a small number of Lutheran clergymen received their training in it. Rev. Henry A. Muhlenberg, for a long time pastor at Reading, and afterwards attaining high distinction as a civilian, and Rev. Benjamin Keller, one of the most lovely and useful of the Church's servants, were among the number. A kind of private Seminary for theological instruction was begun somewhat earlier by Rev's. Helmuth and Schmidt, and such lights of the Church as George Lochman, J. G. Schmucker, Endress, J. Miller, Baker, Butler and Baetes were prepared in this institute for the Lutheran pulpit. Kunze was moved to accept the call to New York in 1784, by the offer of a professorship in Columbia College, in which institution he hoped to be able to accomplish something by way of

supplying the great destitution of ministers. In 1815 Hartwick Seminary, in New York, was opened with nineteen students the number growing within a few months to forty-four. The founding of this school was the result of a munificent legacy left by Pastor Hartwig for a school in which young men should be trained both for the office of pastor and for that of missionary among the Indian population. Its first



HARTWICK SEMINARY, HARTWICK, N. Y.

president was Dr. Ernst Ludwig Hazelius, a man who brought to this country thorough German culture, eminently fitting him for an instructor. He was an earnest Christian. Although not more pronounced in his Lutheran faith than many of his contemporaries, he was instrumental through his students in putting an end to the sway of rationalism in the New York Ministerium.

A number of the abler ministers, in addition to the

exhaustive labors which their large pastoral districts required, furnished private instruction, taking young men into their homes, often giving them boarding and even books gratuitously, and assisting them in their earnest endeavors to master theological studies. To the disinterested and stimulating efforts of this character, from men like the Schaeffers, Dr. Lochman, and Drs. Geissenhainer and Quitman in New York, the Church is indebted for many of the most active, worthy and useful men that labored in her vineyards during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth.

Of course no individual pastor, burdened with the cares of one or, sometimes, many congregations, whatever may have been his own attainments in theology, could do the work of a theological faculty, whose time and abilities are given exclusively to this calling. Hence though the Church was honored in that period by men of eminent culture, to whom the best institutions awarded the title of Doctor of Divinity, who commanded the admiration and personal esteem of the foremost men of the day, and whose abilities were frequently sought for in the counsels of state, the standard of theological education necessarily declined, the number of men rightly equipped for the holy office was very much limited, and a corresponding depression of the life and activities of the Church and a restriction of her progress became inevitable.

CHAPTER X.

FORMATION OF THE GENERAL SYNOD.

A BRIGHTER day was about to break over the Church. Its sun rose indeed amid overhanging clouds, nevertheless it rose and ushered in a period of extraordinary prosperity, development and expansion. The spirit of Christianity is the spirit of unity. The mission of the Chief Shepherd was "to gather together in one the children of God that were scattered abroad." Sin and error cause divisions and alienations. The Gospel, as it reconciles men to God, binds them also to one another in sympathy and affection. He that loveth God the Father of all, loveth also his brother, and where love is men are drawn together.

This fraternal spirit was animating the hearts of many in the Lutheran Church during the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and its fruit was the organization of the General Synod, which, recalling in many respects the blooming period of Muhlenberg, formed like that a new era in the history and operations of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of this country. She became once again distinguished by unity, life, activity and wonderful progress. Those having the same faith, culture, traditions and blood even, would naturally be attracted together by the affinities of the Gospel, but they felt also the necessity for a closer bond of union in order to promote, by combined effort, and on a comprehensive scale the general



REV. S. S. SCHMUCKER, D. D.

progress of Zion. This sentiment had been growing for years and the desire seemed general, that there should be some central connection in order that unnecessary and injurious divisions might not arise, that more general conformity in the usages and devotional books of the Church might prevail, and greater strength and increased efficiency imparted to those enterprises, in which concentration is so essential to success.

To satisfy this Christian yearning for fraternal fellowship, to provide for the increasing wants of the individual congregations, and to meet the responsibilities of the Church as a body, the Lutheran communities must needs enter into organic relations with each other. The situation was ripe for carrying it into execution. The Spirit of God had prepared the Church for an advance.

The initiative came fittingly from the Synod of Pennsylvania, which was the mother of the other Synods, and which still embraced more churches and pastors than all the others. The first traces of it are found in the meeting of the Synod at Harrisburg in 1818, where it was "Resolved that the Synod regard it as desirable that the different Evangelical Lutheran Synods in the United States should in some way or other stand in closer connection with each other; and that the Reverend Ministerium be charged with the consideration of this matter, and if the Reverend Ministerium recognize the advisability of it, to develop a plan for a closer union, and to see to it that some such desirable union be effected if possible." "Extraordinary unanimity and the most hearty concord and

brotherly love prevailed" at this meeting, for which the secretary records fervent thanksgiving.

The officers were appointed a committee on correspondence to give efficacy to the movement. Communications expressive of the Synod's action were accordingly forwarded to the other Synods, and they were invited to send deputies to the next annual meeting of the Pennsylvania Synod, to be held in Baltimore, Trinity week, 1819, for the purpose of considering the expediency of organizing a General Synod.

At that convention a letter was read from Pastor Quitman, of New York, favoring a more intimate union of the Synods. No mention is made of the Ohio Synod. But the North Carolina Synod, holding "that towards such a Union of our Church all possible assistance ought to be rendered," promptly elected its secretary, Rev. Gottlieb Shober, to attend the above meeting at Baltimore, and in the name of his Synod, "endeavor to effect such a desirable union." He was accorded a seat and a vote, and his presence for this particular object gave great encouragement to the Synod to proceed with it. It became the paramount subject of consideration. A committee was appointed consisting of Rev. Drs. F. D. Schaeffer, J. Daniel Kurtz and J. George Schmucker with Messrs. Demuth, Keller and Schorr of the laity, and the delegate, Rev. Shober, to examine the whole matter and to outline a plan as early as possible.

The report of the committee was thoroughly discussed and its plan for the establishment of a General Synod adopted by a vote of forty-two to eight. Its

first paragraph states that in view of the extension of the Church "over the greatest part of the United States of North America, and as the members of the said Church are anxious to walk in the spirit of love and concord, under one rule of faith, * * * it appears to be the almost unanimous wish of the existing synods or ministeriums, that a fraternal union of the whole Evangelical Lutheran Church in these United States might be effected, by means of some central organization."

How to effect such "a fraternal union" was the problem. The Lutheran Church recognizes in no form of Church government any divine right beyond that of the sovereignty of the individual congregation, which includes the office of preaching the Gospel and administering the sacraments. This principle being guarded the fathers were at liberty to adopt any polity that would best subserve the end in view. The outline of a plan modeled largely after the constitution of the Presbyterian General Assembly formed the basis of discussion with the committee, but some prominent features of the Congregational system were also introduced. The powers of the General Body were made chiefly advisory, the judicial and executive authority being left mainly in the hands of the individual synods. It was designed to serve as "a joint committee of the special synods," and the internal management and government of these was to be retained perpetually in their hands, "subject only to this restriction, that such rules and regulations do not conflict with these fundamental principles of the general organization."

Section 4 of the proposed plan surrendered to the General Synod "the exclusive right, with the consent of a majority of the special synods, of introducing new books for general use in the Church, and also of making improvements in the Liturgy; until this however takes place, the hymn-books now in use, the Small Catechism of Luther, the Liturgies already adopted, and such other books as have been received as Church books by any of the existing synods, shall continue in use as they may choose. The General Synod however has no power to make or to demand any alteration whatever in the doctrines hitherto received by us."

Provision was made for the organization of new synods, especially in States not yet having any such organization. Unless the permission of the General Synod shall have been formally obtained, "no newly organized body shall be recognized as a lawful Ministerium among us, and no ordination performed by them as valid."

The plan thus adopted by the Synod of Pennsylvania as "a proposition for a General Union of the the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of North America" was signed by J. George Schmucker, President, and Conrad Jaeger, Secretary, and was published for general distribution among all the ministers and delegates of the several synods, with the understanding that they were to take action upon it as soon as possible, and that if three-fourths of the Synods adopted it, "at least in its spirit and essentials," the President of the Synod of Pennsylvania should proceed to call a convention of deputies,

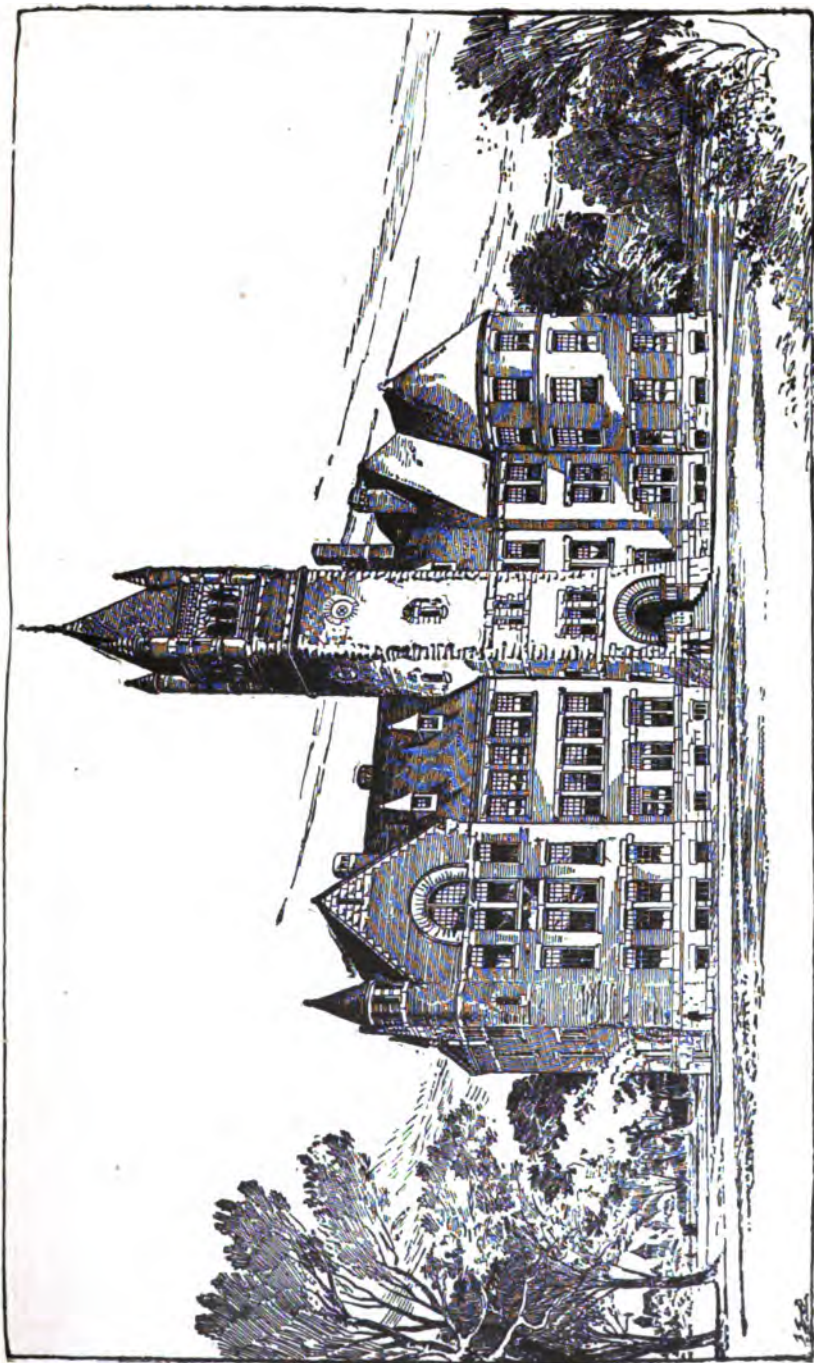
who at such time and place as he might determine, should meet for the purpose of framing for themselves a constitution to be conformed as nearly as possible to the plan proposed.

The proposition having been favorably received by the requisite number of synods, the convention for effecting the proposed organization was announced to be held at Hagerstown, Md., October 22, 1820. There appeared as deputies from the Synod of Pennsylvania, Drs. George Lochman, F. W. Geissenhainer, Christian Endress, J. G. Schmucker, H. A. Muhlenberg (a son of Henry E. Muhlenberg, D. D., and grandson of the Patriarch), and Messrs. Christian Kunkel, William Hensel and Peter Strickler; from the Synod of New York, Rev. Drs. P. F. Mayer and F. C. Schaeffer; from the Synod of North Carolina, Revs. G. Schober and P. Schmucker; from the Synod of Maryland and Virginia, Rev. Drs. J. D. Kurtz, D. F. Schaeffer and Mr. G. Schryock. "It was much regretted by all present, that from the Synod in the State of Ohio the expected deputies did not appear." J. D. Kurtz, D. D., was chosen President of the Convention and H. A. Muhlenberg, D. D., Secretary. A more important meeting was never held within the bounds of the Lutheran Church this side of the Atlantic, and a nobler band of enlightened men could not have been found at the time within her pale—or outside of it.

They seem to have realized the responsibility with which they were charged in laying the foundations of a united Lutheran Church on this continent, and with the spirit of the utmost harmony they built so wisely that their structure with some modifications,

still remains, and has been by general consent one of the most powerful instruments in determining the character and advancing the general welfare of the Church. Although false friends within and hostile assailants from without have often exposed it to reproach, few men familiar with its history will withhold from it the praise that directly or indirectly, by its own development on right lines, as well as by stimulating its opponents to a right development, "it has proved a great blessing to the Church. From its influence the happiest results have flowed, even to Synods which did not formally unite with it." "It was at this crisis," says the Rev. Charles P. Krauth, D. D., in *The Lutheran and Missionary*, March 17, 1864, "that the life of the Church displayed itself in the formation of the General Synod. The formation was a great act of faith, made as the framers of the constitution sublimely express it, in reliance 'upon God our Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, under the guidance and direction of the Holy Spirit in the word of God.' The framers of that constitution should be as dear to us as Lutherans, as the framers of our Federal Constitution are to us as Americans."

The convention agreed unanimously upon a constitution which was essentially identical with the plan that had been proposed by the Pennsylvania Synod. It was referred to the several Synods with the provision that if ratified by three of the Synods participating in its preparation, it should be considered binding, and the chairman of the convention was authorized to call the first meeting of the united body at



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Frederick, Md., on the third Monday in October, 1821. The absence of deputies from the Synod of Ohio having occasioned much disappointment, a friendly letter was ordered to be addressed to its President "encouraging him, if possible, to prevail on said Synod to unite with their brethren in the adoption of the constitution." So confident were these deputies of the ratification of their work by the requisite number of synods, that in their zeal they proceeded at once with the initial steps for the founding of some of the institutions contemplated. One committee was appointed *to form a plan for a Seminary of Education*. This consisted of Drs. Schmucker, Lochman, Endress, Geissenhainer and Muhlenberg. Another committee was charged *to form a plan for a Missionary Institution*. A third committee was *to form a plan in aid of poor ministers, and ministers' widows and orphans*.

At the next annual convention of the Pennsylvania Synod, held in Chambersburg, June, 1821, "after every article had been maturely considered and unanimously agreed upon," the constitution was adopted by a vote of sixty-seven against six. The Synod of Maryland and Virginia at its next meeting, in Frederick, September 2-4, also adopted it with entire unanimity. And so did the Synod of North Carolina. In the Synod of New York the subject encountered singular indifference. In 1819 this body had discussed at some length the plan proposed, and Drs. Mayer and Schaeffer represented it at the convention to form a constitution in 1820. These delegates reported at the subsequent meeting of that Synod in 1821, and presented the Constitution to the General Synod. "The same

was read and debated, and it was finally resolved that the secretary exert himself to secure more copies of this constitution and that the further discussion be postponed." The question of uniting was referred to the congregations. In 1822 the secretary reported that only a few congregations had communicated their decision. "The majority of the answers indicated, however, that the connection with the General Synod was for the present not feasible, (*unpraktisch*)," though no objections were raised against the project.

Three of the synods having ratified the constitution, the first regular convention of the General Synod met in Frederick, Md., October 21-23, 1821. Rev. George Lochman, D. D., conducted services in the morning in the German language, Rev. J. G. Schmucker, D. D., preached in the afternoon in German, and Rev. C. Endress, D. D., at night in the English language. Representatives were present from the Synods of Pennsylvania, North Carolina, Maryland and Virginia. Those from the first were Drs. J. G. Schmucker, Lochman and Endress, with lay deputies C. A. Barnitz, F. Sharrets and P. Brua; from the second, Revs. Shober and Scherer; from the latter body, Rev. D. F. Schaeffer and John Ebert, Esq. Thus while fifteen representatives had participated in the formation of the constitution, only ten took part in the proceedings of the first regular meeting. "But on account of a prevailing epidemic and an error in the advertisement of the newspapers concerning the time of meeting, there were absent four deputies elected by the Synod of Pennsylvania, two by the Synod of North Carolina and two by the Synod of Maryland and Virginia."

The whole number, therefore, properly constituting the first meeting was twenty. Dr. Lochman was President of the body, Dr. David F. Schaeffer Secretary, and Hon. C. A. Barnitz, Treasurer. The number was small. Their resources were slender. Formidable obstacles confronted them. But the Spirit of Christ had wrought within them strong desires and high expectations. There was withal a resolute will and a lofty, world-conquering faith.

Keenly sensible of the immediate and pressing needs of the Church, the members of the first General Synod wrestled earnestly with the problems of Ministerial Education, Home Missions, and the Catechisation of the Young. While clearly perceiving the necessity for a Theological Seminary it was deemed advisable, among other reasons, "on account of the pressure of the times," to defer its establishment for several years, but in the meanwhile measures were proposed in anticipation of the early founding of such an institution. The subject was to be agitated, the minds of the congregations prepared for it, and a well selected and extensive library collected for the use of the Seminary.

Considerable discussion having been given to the subject of Home Missions, "the several district Synods were earnestly recommended to send one or more missionaries to such parts of the country as, in their opinion, stood most in need of them." Drs. Endress, Schmucker, Lochman, D. F. Schaeffer, and Rev. Shober were appointed to prepare an English Catechism. At this convention the the Pennsylvania Synod reported on its roll eighty-five ministers, who had during the year confirmed "about four or five hundred

persons" and whose congregations maintained two hundred and ninety-five schools. The Synod of Maryland and Virginia reported fifteen ministers who had confirmed five hundred and eighty during the year, and the Synod of North Carolina thirteen ministers and two hundred and twenty confirmations.

So wise and beneficent an organization as the General Synod was designed to be can not proceed very far without hindrances and antagonisms. It began its career, indeed, with remarkable freedom from opposition. But every new departure in civil or religious society, every forward movement in the cause of truth and righteousness, must run the gauntlet of denunciation, hostility and misrepresentation. The price of every noble institution is a struggle for existence.

The general union of Lutheran Synods in this country must submit to the same law of trial, and only after it has stood the fiery test and proved its vitality, its worthiness to live, could it expect to go forward with the divine work of developing the Church and extending her borders. The laudable endeavor to unite the different sections of the Church, so that by harmony of counsel and concert of action a general advance might be effected, had scarcely been inaugurated when the whole movement seemed to be suddenly frustrated. "The hopes which had been cherished for the improvement of our Zion seemed blasted, and many were disposed to abandon the project of a union." Happily the project was of God, and brave and capable men with strong faith and with true hearts, men capable of enduring hardship and of meeting the issue, were provided for the crisis.

At the second convention of the General Synod, held at Frederick, October 19-21, 1823, the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the parent synod, which had been really the founder of the General Synod, was not represented. At its regular convention in the year 1823, it passed resolutions severing its connection with the general body. This withdrawal was not caused by any doctrinal divergence between the former body and the latter. Neither had any misunderstandings arisen among the leaders, nor any dissatisfaction with the avowed plans and purposes of the organization. Nor indeed was the recession designed to be permanent, but only "until such time in the future as the congregations themselves shall see their mistake of our true intention, and shall call for a reconsideration of these resolutions."

The trouble arose with the congregations. The idea was conceived and spread among them that such an organization might become an instrument of ecclesiastical tyranny. Dolorous predictions were uttered, malicious representations circulated and violent hostility excited against it. So jealous, indeed, were the people of their political rights, the price of which had not yet been forgotten, so suspicious were they of authority, and so morbidly sensitive was their dread of power in any domain, that they professed to fear in such a union necessary for the strengthening and upbuilding of the Church, an institution dangerous to the liberties of the American people. Ministers of other denominations were largely instrumental in exciting these groundless fears and inflaming bitter opposition to a movement designed to enhance the

growth and influence of the Lutheran communion. They unfortunately succeeded to such an extent that the ministers of the Pennsylvania Synod felt constrained to yield to the adverse pressure, unreasonable and mistaken as it was, and to dissolve formal relations with the general body. So far were the leading men of the Synod from manifesting any antagonism or unfriendliness to the General Synod, that they continued to view it "as highly beneficial to the interests of the Church," and strongly deplored the "peculiar circumstances" which compelled them to this course, circumstances which the General Synod itself recognized "as excusing if not absolutely necessitating the attitude of the Old Synod in its temporary recession." Expressions of the most cordial good feeling and confidence were exchanged, and the hope indulged and expressed on both sides that the enforced separation over which both grieved would come to an early and happy end.

The absence of a delegation from the Pennsylvania Synod, on whose leadership and influence so much had been reckoned, cast a deep gloom over the second convention. It certainly looked as if the General Synod could not survive this overwhelming disaster in the first years of its feeble beginnings. It is not surprising that "very little seems to have been done." The wonder is that there was heart to do anything. Yet some measures were adopted which were important as exponents of the spirit that animated the little body of delegates.

Such was the appointment of a committee to open communication with the Lutheran Church in Europe,

in order to elicit "correct information relative to the spiritual prosperity of our Church in the several empires, kingdoms and places abroad, to promote the unity of the Church, and to invite the prayers and exertions of each other, for the prosperity of the Church of Christ in the world." An address prepared by Revs. S. S. Schmucker and D. F. Schaeffer, and published for general distribution in all the synods, expresses grateful acknowledgment to God for the prosperity and rapid extension of the Church, which had reached an aggregate of one hundred and seventy-five ministers, nine hundred congregations and over fifty thousand communicants. It upholds the General Synod as loudly called for by the best interests of Zion, as needful to guard "against diversity in doctrine and practice, and to prevent discord and schism." It rejoices that "the spirit of piety and zeal is advancing throughout their borders," asks the prayers of the Church for more ministers to carry the Gospel to the frontier, urges liberal contributions to the missionary fund, exhorts the several synods "to persevere in their evangelical habit of annually sending out missionaries, lauds especially the Ohio Synod and the Tennessee Conference, for making all possible exertions to meet the pressing calls for Gospel ministrations which come to them from the remote west, and pleads with the latter body to dismiss its scruples and apprehensions respecting the constitution of the General Synod.

A Formula or Directory of Discipline and Government, which had been adopted by the Synod of Maryland and Virginia, "was carefully examined, and was

unanimously approved, as fully accordant with Scripture and sound reason, and in harmony with the established principles of the Lutheran Church."

The disheartening impression produced by the loss of the Synod of Pennsylvania was in a measure counteracted by the presence of two delegations from bodies which had not heretofore participated in the General Synod. Rev. Peter Schmucker and Rev. J. Steck appeared as representatives from the Synod of Ohio. This body soon severed its connection, although in this instance, as in that of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, cordial relations and a measure of co-operation with the general body were maintained for a number of years.

Rev. J. G. Schmucker, D. D., and Rev. J. Herbst were received as representatives "appointed by the conference of the ministers west of the Susquehanna, belonging to the Synod of Pennsylvania." A special conference of these ministers held two weeks before at York, Pa., had selected these brethren as their representatives. The fears and the prejudices against the General Synod seem to have been altogether local, and as they did not exist west of the river, these congregations with their ministers proposed a separate organization and thereby they secured the continuance of their connection with the General Synod. An actual separation from the Pennsylvania Synod had not yet been consummated. At another special conference held at Greencastle, November 6-9, 1824, they resolved upon the formation of a synod to include all the territory of the State west of the river. This action was communicated to the mother synod

at its next regular convention, with a plea for the recognition of the new body as one of the regular synods of the American Lutheran Church. Among the reasons alleged for this movement were the distance and expense connected with attendance upon synodical meetings, and the advantages of a small body for the better cultivation of the field within its bounds, for a closer union among brethren, and for the better supervision of their private and official walk. Their desire for preserving the union with the General Synod had also doubtless some weight. Its leaders were among the staunchest and most zealous advocates of that body. When their petition came before the parent synod at Reading in 1825, the latter expressed pain at the separation of these brethren, but agreed to recognize them as a sister synod.

Separations and new aggregations were thus taking place, but as yet the attitude of each division or organization of the Lutheran Church to all the others was peaceable and friendly, except in the territory of the Synod of North Carolina.

The constituency of the General Synod was up to the year 1830 limited to the Synods of North Carolina, Maryland and Virginia, and West Pennsylvania, a body feeble in numbers but strong in energy, faith and devotion to the Church. The discouragements experienced, the opposition that began to rumble in certain quarters and some malicious aspersions had the happy effect of stimulating its friends to greater zeal and exertion. The loss of powerful allies resulted in rallying the forces that remained and closing the ranks.

At its next meeting, in Frederick, November 7, 1825, energetic measures were taken "to commence forthwith in the name of the Triune God, and in humble reliance on his aid the establishment of a Theological Seminary," in which shall be taught, "in the German and English languages, the fundamental doctrines of the sacred Scriptures, as contained in the Augsburg Confession." Although Hartwick Seminary, whose curriculum was not confined to theological studies, was at the time reported to be "in the most flourishing condition," it was held to be "a solemn duty of the General Synod imposed on it by the constitution and due from it to God and the Church, to provide for the proper education of men of piety and of talents for the Gospel ministry." If the Church was to live and maintain a distinct existence, it must be supplied with a learned and consecrated ministry, a band of brethren, who experienced the same training, were governed by the same principles and directed by the same spirit.

The committee charged with the preparation of a plan were Revs. B. Kurtz, S. S. Schmucker, J. Herbst, B. Keller and Messrs. Harry and Hauptman. The General Synod elected the first board of directors, but their successors were to be elected by the Synods connected with the General Synod and contributing pecuniary aid to the institution. The General Synod also elected the first professor, S. S. Schmucker, after which, it was provided, the Board of Directors shall have the exclusive authority of electing additional professors. Agents were appointed to prosecute the solicitation of funds, Drs. Lochman, Endress and Muh-

lenberg, and Rev. Demme for the Synod of East Pennsylvania, the name now for some time given to the Old Synod; Dr. Schmucker and Révs. Herbst and Keller that of West Pennsylvania; Revs. Stouch and Steck, Ohio and Indiana; Dr. P. Mayer and Revs. Geissenhainer, F. C. Schaeffer and Lintner, the Synod of New York; S. S. Schmucker, Philadelphia and the Eastern States; Revs. Reck, Meyerheffer and Krauth, Virginia; Revs. B. Kurtz, H. Graber, Rothrauf and Little, Maryland; Rev. W. Jenkins, Tennessee; Revs. J. Scherer and J. Reck, North Carolina; and Revs. Bachman and Dreher, South Carolina. Rev. Benjamin Kurtz was at the same time selected to proceed to Europe and solicit money and books for the benefit of the Seminary.

A few months later, March 1826, the Board assembled at Hagerstown, adopted a constitution, and accepted the offer of \$7,000 and use of a building from Gettysburg, not only because it made the most generous proposals, but because it was deemed most central. On the first Tuesday in September the institution was opened with ten students, of whom Jonathan Oswald, D. D., and J. G. Morris, D. D., LL. D., still survive. It was a day of profound rejoicing over the answer "to the prayers and desires which many in our Zion have long breathed forth." The second year saw the number rise to twenty-three, and the school soon won its way to the heart and confidence of the Church and prospered beyond the most sanguine expectation of its friends. Viewed from the present state of the Church those were the days of feebleness and poverty, yet, the situation being con-

sidered, the efforts and liberality of our fathers do not suffer in comparison with what we boast of to-day. Prof. Schmucker in canvassing Philadelphia for funds wrote: "My solicitations have been directed chiefly to the members of the Lutheran churches, whom I found to be a liberal, wealthy and generous people." In less than a year subscriptions amounting to \$17,513 were made.

Thus was founded the Seminary of the General



THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, GETTYSBURG, PA.

Synod, which for many years was the principal training school for Lutheran ministers in America, which has for nearly seventy years been sending out a constant supply of able ministers of the New Testament, and which has furnished not only a large majority of the most eminent and successful pastors, missionaries and professors connected with the General Synod, with which body it still holds a formal connection, but

also a number of the founders and leaders of the General Council and many of the most distinguished ministers of the United Synod. It was the first product of the General Synod, as it was in fact the principal object contemplated in its organization. The subject had been warmly agitated in various quarters, but especially in the Synod of Maryland, which was at the time largely composed of stirring, zealous and enlightened young men, such as C. P. Krauth, Benjamin Kurtz, Abraham Reck, S. S. Schmucker and, leader of them all, David F. Schaeffer. The principal impulse to the General Synod's action as well as the draft of the constitution of the seminary are to be ascribed to this illustrious group. The professor's oath bound him to the Augsburg Confession and the Catechisms of Luther "as a summary and just exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the word of God." The charge of Rev. Schaeffer at the installation of Professor Schmucker contains the following: "As the Lord has signally favored our Church—as her tenets are biblical, and her veriest enemies cannot point out an important error in her articles of faith, no more than could the enemies of the truth at the Diet of Worms prove the books of the immortal Reformer erroneous. Therefore, the Church which entrusts you with the preparation and formation of her pastors, demands of you (and in her behalf I solemnly charge you) to establish all students confided to your care, in that faith which distinguishes our Church from others. If any should object to such faith, or any part of it, or refuse to be convinced of the excellence of our discipline they have their choice to unite with such of our Chris-

tian brethren, whose particular views in matters of faith and discipline may suit them better. I hold it, however, as indispensable for the peace and welfare of a Church that unity of sentiment should prevail upon all important matters of faith and discipline among the pastors thereof. Hence I charge you to exert yourself in convincing our students that the Augsburg Confession is a safe directory to determine upon matters of faith, declared upon the Lamb's book." A sentiment of charity for other denominations of Christians is expressed "but the different genera and species should be preserved according to their peculiar nature."

With the retirement of the older leaders through age and death, and the withdrawal of the Pennsylvania Synod, several young men came to the front who by their ability and their prominence swayed for a generation an influence equalled by none of their contemporaries in the Church. One was Benjamin Kurtz, D. D., a grandson of Rev. John Nicholas Kurtz. Subject in early youth to deep religious convictions he studied theology under Dr. Lochman and entered the ministry in 1815, assisting for a while his uncle, J. D. Kurtz, D. D., in Baltimore, but accepting shortly a call to Hagerstown. He was the only Lutheran minister in Washington county, which comprised then at least ten congregations. During his pastorate of sixteen years he succeeded—not without bitter and stubborn opposition—in introducing English preaching, prayer-meetings, Sunday Schools and temperance societies. Upon the establishment of the theological seminary he was commissioned to proceed to Ger-

many to solicit aid for the young and needy institution. The German ministers in London became once more the medium of communication, and through these he was cordially commended to the ecclesiastical authorities of Germany, under whose patronage he pleaded his cause with marked effect in the presence of the highest classes, including royalty itself. Immense crowds attended the churches in which he officiated and his preaching and his cause won extensive popularity. He was absent nearly two years and returned with about \$10,000, besides a large number of books for the library, while the stream of liberality which he opened continued to flow long after.

In 1833 he took editorial charge of the *Lutheran Observer*, a paper which, under his conduct for thirty years, became a notable power, every onward movement finding in it an earnest and able advocate. Late in life and amid the opposition of nearly the whole Church he projected the Missionary Institute, located at Selins Grove, Pa., for the purpose of preparing for the Lutheran ministry such candidates as were either too far advanced in years or prevented by other circumstances from pursuing a collegiate course and a full theological curriculum.

S. S. Schmucker, D. D., was a son of Rev. J. G. Schmucker, D. D. He pursued his classical studies at the University of Pennsylvania, and after reading theology for a time under his father, took the full course at Princeton Seminary. He was without doubt at that time "the best educated young man in the Lutheran Church in this country." He was also recognized throughout his career as a man of devoted

piety, of exalted Christian character and of self-sacrificing zeal for the advancement of the Church and her institutions, fighting for years ill-health with one hand while with habits of indefatigable industry the other was toiling and writing in behalf of the interests of Zion. Endowed with rare qualities of leadership, it fell to his lot to do the principal work in providing the necessary ecclesiastical literature. To his clear head and persevering activity the Church is mainly indebted for the Formula of discipline, English hymn-book, liturgy, catechism, and the constitution of the Theological Seminary.

Called to preside over this institution at its foundation, he was for some time its sole professor and he may justly be called its father. He held this position until 1864, a period of nearly forty years, and during this time, by his ascendancy over the minds of his students, his numerous publications, his debates at synod, and his manifest devotion to every cause of public interest, he was beyond question the most conspicuous and influential man in the Lutheran Church in America and the best known to the Christian community outside of it.

Notwithstanding his laborious activity and manifold cares in connection with the Seminary, the establishment of Pennsylvania College, the collection of funds, erection of buildings and the like, he was one of the most prolific authors that the Church has yet produced. The most important of his publications were his "Popular Theology" which passed through nine editions, "Psychology," a translation of Storr and Flatt's "Theology," "Lutheran Manual," and the "Lu-

theran Church in America." He was an ardent advocate of Christian union and his "Fraternal Appeal," published in 1838, gave him such recognition in different churches and countries that when in 1846 he attended the first meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in London, Dr. King of Ireland did not hesitate to call him the father of the Alliance.

His liberal attitude toward other denominations and his qualified acceptance of some of the distinctive tenets of his own Church exposed him, especially in his later years, to the criticism and stern opposition of many of his Lutheran brethren. At the beginning of his ministry, when great doctrinal laxity prevailed, he stood in advance of the majority of Lutheran ministers in holding to the Augsburg Confession. But when about 1850 there set in a decided reaction in favor of the faith which had for centuries distinguished the Lutheran Church, and which was emblazoned on her banner as it was first unfurled on these shores, when in the language of the elder Krauth "the Church was disposed to renew her connection with the past, and in her future progress to walk under the guidance of the light which it has furnished," Dr. Schmucker not only did not sympathize with the movement but he opposed it by voice and pen with all his ability. The result was sharp controversies, painful alienations, many of his warmest friends deprecating his course and deeply regretting that he could see only error in statements and definitions which they believed to be the truth of Scripture, but no one questioned the sincerity of his convictions or the completeness of his consecration to Christ and his Church.

A life-long associate of Prof. Schmucker and his ablest co-laborer in the establishment and upbuilding of the institutions at Gettysburg and the preparation of church manuals, was Rev. Chas. Philip Krauth, D. D. After preaching for some years in Virginia, he was for seven years pastor of St. Matthews, Philadelphia. Chosen the first President of Pennsylvania College he held that position from 1834 to 1850, when he accepted the chair of Biblical Philology and Ecclesiastical History in the Seminary, devoting henceforth to the day of his death his time exclusively to this Institution in which he had for years previously been imparting instruction.

He was a man of marked intellectual force, of singular purity of character, of a generous heart, a benignant disposition, courtly manners and a princely mien. His reading covered the whole field of theological science and that of polite literature. He was a forcible writer and in his prime an eloquent preacher. He had his very being in the General Synod from its organization all through his life, and his loyalty to the Confessions and historic principles of the Lutheran Church was never questioned. Parties whose hostility to these was undisguised were wont indeed to call him "Symbolic" and "Old Lutheran." His sound judgment and calm temper led to his appointment on the most important committees, and in 1841 he served as chairman of the committee entrusted with the duty of preparing an English liturgy. Though not given to theological controversies he commanded a strong influence and his opinions had great weight among his associates and students. A

most intimate life-long friend says of him: "He was the most unselfish man I ever knew. All his labors, studies, prayers, and earnings were for the good of others. When his name was mentioned it was with reverence; when his conduct was spoken of it was with approbation. No student ever left Gettysburg who did not admire his character as a man." His piety was indeed of the highest type, the students spoke of him as "the beloved disciple," and his calm and holy life fittingly closed with the words "Peace, all is peace."

The energy of the new life pulsating through the body of Christ could not expend itself on a single institution. The very object of the Seminary was to produce a revival of every languishing interest, to give momentum and homogeneity to every form of Christian enterprise. The General Synod was small in numbers, it was feeble in resources, it was threatened with serious dangers and even with dissolution from its birth, but its leaders had energy, devotion, self-sacrifice and, as the spring of these, that divine faith which worketh under the impulse and channel of love. They were prompted by zeal for the Redeemer's kingdom. They were animated by the spirit of brotherly love, while harmony of aim and counsel enabled them to move as a unit. And they went forward, conscious of the spiritual power inherent in the Church, confident of the smile of heaven upon their endeavors, and expecting the happiest results.

To furnish suitable candidates for the nascent Seminary a classical school was at once opened at Gettysburg. It was intended primarily "to enable

persons of slender means or advanced years to secure the most useful and necessary preparatory studies," and to afford an opportunity for others "to be prepared for entrance into the different colleges of our country." But it prospered so rapidly that in a few years it grew into Pennsylvania College, and Lutheran students could complete the curriculum of study in an institution of their own Church.

The machinery of instruction being provided, measures were taken to secure the proper subjects and the means for their support. The Church must share the pecuniary burden contracted in acquiring a thorough education for her clergy. Educational associations, "Ladies Mite Societies," sewing societies, and other agencies for gathering funds were accordingly instituted in numerous congregations. The Maryland Synod, in its annual report, October 1831, attests its "gratitude to the ladies of the Lutheran churches at Frederick, Taneytown, Shepherdstown and Baltimore, who by the labor of their hands jointly contributed the sum of \$582.31."

At the meeting of the General Synod, in York, 1835, the organization of a General Educational Society was effected, officers were elected and directors appointed not only from the General Synod, but also from the Synods of Ohio, Pennsylvania and New York, the co-operation of all being contemplated. After the trial of various methods in the administration of this cause, the district synods in 1855 respectively assumed entire charge of it, leaving the Parent Education Society to depend on legacies and special donations for its peculiar sphere. This beneficiary

expedient for supplying the ever-increasing needs of the Church has been of incomparable service. Without the beneficiaries hundreds of congregations must have died for want of spiritual sustenance. The twenty years of active operations by the parent society gave the Church some two hundred pastors. Many of these have occupied the most important positions in the Church. Four became presidents of colleges, one a professor of theology, while many were called to the largest and most intelligent congregations.

There was no difficulty in finding proper employment for the newly equipped ministerial recruits. When the air is surcharged with missionary fire men with tongues of flame are sure to find places where they may give utterance to the glad tidings. The first graduates showed what spirit was in them as they went "where the destitution was greatest and the cry for ministerial supply most urgent." The tides of emigration had begun to sweep away thousands from the older congregations in the east, and the Church like a faithful mother was yearning after them, recognizing at the same time in their destitution her golden opportunity for the extension of her blessings and the advancement of her influence. The General Synod being composed of delegates representing the widely separated and remote sections of the Church became the medium of intelligence concerning the extent and necessities of the field, and through it the cry for spiritual assistance was clearly heard by all the congregations, and the burden of their scattered brethren laid on their heart, while mutual consultation, unity of aim



TRESSLER ORPHANS' HOME, LOYSVILLE, PA.

and concert of effort rendered efficient action practicable and certain.

The living spirit is sure to seek embodiment and to strive after formal organization, by which alone it can find a proper and effective exercise for its powers. Missionary societies were formed in many congregations and by all the synods, the General Synod for some years giving simply its moral support and encouragement to the synodical societies. In Baltimore, 1833, it appointed a standing Committee on Missions, whose immediate province was to gather and report information. At York, in 1835, it adopted a lengthy and ringing report declaring that "more must be done if the frowns of Heaven are not to rest upon our churches," and urging that "the destitute parts of our country must be supplied with the Gospel, and as soon as possible our hands must be extended to the heathen." The more men felt the need of supplying our own rapidly-extending country the more the claims of the heathen world pressed upon them. A mass meeting in the interests of Home Missions was called at Mechanicsburg the following year.

At Hagerstown in 1837 the General Synod cordially endorsed a convention, held at that time and place, for the organization of a Foreign Mission Society, adjourning its own sessions from time to time to allow its members to participate in this convention, which was composed of delegates representing churches without as well as within the pale of the General Synod. Revs. H. N. Pohlman, W. D. Strobel and others were in attendance from New York, Revs. J. Medtart, C. W. Schaeffer and Dr. F. W. Heckel

appeared as delegates from the Missionary Society of the Old Synod, besides other clerical and lay members of that body, charged to assure the convention of their co-operation. During the same convention the Central Home Missionary Society held its first anniversary, these different associations, though distinct from the General Synod, realizing their dependence upon it for moral support, while they widened its sphere and stimulated its activity.

The Church took also a lively interest in Sunday Schools which at this period were coming into vogue. One of the first societies organized under the impulses of the General Synod was a Lutheran Sunday-school Union, which was founded in 1829 and for some time held its anniversaries in connection with the meetings of the General Synod. Flourishing schools sprang up in a number of congregations and the foundations were laid for that successful Sunday-school work which has been a prominent characteristic of Lutheranism.

The publication of a suitable and necessary church literature was undertaken. Church periodicals were established. An English Hymn-book, based on that of the Synod of New York was published, also a Liturgy based on the German Agenda of the Pennsylvania Synod, a Collection of Prayers and an English Catechism. A Lutheran Book Company began business in Baltimore in 1836. A cordial and general support was at the same time rendered to the denominational Bible and Tract Societies, and Lutheran ministers and people co-operated largely with organizations to counteract the evils of intemperance.

While a large proportion of these beneficent move-

ments originated directly with the General Synod, that body sounding the keynote and the district synods re-echoing the strain until it was heard on the very borders of Zion, the general body was in other cases but the exponent of the prevalent feeling, registering and voicing the spirit of the congregations, giving it direction and momentum. Whether a movement proceeded from its bosom or came to it from its constituencies, the General Synod was the grand instrument for marshaling the various elements, offering one rallying point instead of many, and promoting a "united policy." No one acquainted with the history of that period will deny to it the honor of being either the prime originator or the principal supporter of all the enlightened measures then put forth for building up the interests and fulfilling the mission of the Church. For half a century it was the most conspicuous and the most influential factor in advancing her usefulness and her glory.

Symptoms of renewed spiritual life attested everywhere the presence of the Holy Ghost. The pulpit was marked by peculiar earnestness and pastors excelled in self-sacrificing fidelity in the catechism class and in house to house visitation. The congregations experienced "an increased degree of spirituality," so that they "abounded in lives of prayer, of faith and love, of pious deeds and of zeal for Christ," and realized their mission to spread the Gospel and to exercise the grace of giving in the support of "all benevolent institutions." The pastoral address issued by the General Synod in 1831 affirms: "Education and Missionary Societies are increasing, and we know of no

benevolent institution in our country, that does not number among its patrons some of our most devoted members." The Synod of South Carolina numbering but thirteen pastors reported in 1836 the sum of \$1,660.60 for missions and education, the West Pennsylvania Synod \$769.91 for the same year, and the Hartwick Synod with fifteen ministers gave \$1,467.83 in two years. "Prayer meetings conducted according to the Scriptures were numerous," and viewed as "a great blessing to many souls on the brink of eternal ruin." Students for the ministry multiplied in a rapid ratio.

So far from being exhausted by the founding of one seminary or the support of one professorship, the interest in theological education kept increasing and led to the undertaking of a second professorship at Gettysburg in 1829. A collecting tour of Professor Schmucker through the north yielded the large sum of \$14,917, collected mostly from Congregationalists through the active co-operation of Professor Stuart.

The proposal of the Board to call the second professor from the ranks of Lutheran theologians in Germany met with unexpected opposition from the Old Synod "because an European could not so well accommodate himself to the peculiar views and situation of our ecclesiastical and civil institutions." The choice fell on Dr. Hazeliu who in 1830 was made Professor of Biblical and Oriental Literature and the German Language. The library, numbering six thousand volumes, was at that time the largest theological library in the country.

Hartwick Seminary also attained a prosperity it

had never enjoyed, and before the surrender of its honored professor to Gettysburg, called as his assistant Rev. G. B. Miller, who for many years filled this position with great usefulness. At the same time a cheering support was given to the seminary at Lexington, founded by the Synod of South Carolina, and that of the Synod of Ohio, established at Columbus.

The relation of the General Synod to this advancement of the Church is well set forth in the pastoral letter which it addressed to the churches in 1835. "Will it be too much to say that since 1820 this Synod has been a means under God of greatly reviving our American churches; spreading abroad the spirit of reformation; firing with new zeal ministers and laymen; elevating the standard of piety among us; diffusing a spirit of benevolence among our people; furnishing, by means of her seminaries ministers for congregations ready to perish, and through the medium of her publications, bread to those starving." When this body had been but ten years in existence its members could testify before angels and men: "The temporal and spiritual, the external and internal concerns of our Zion have been advanced with unparalleled success." These pastoral letters show how the brethren were cheered by the rapid spread of the Church in every quarter, how they more than realized their brightest anticipations, and how these happy results enforced upon their conscience the duty of the hour. A noble Christian optimism shines through the review of the situation which they were wont to publish after each meeting. With what joy



REV. CHARLES A. STORK, D. D

they speak of the increasing extent and rising importance of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. "Since the establishment of the General Synod, God has favored us with many glorious manifestations of God's power and grace."

They deemed it just to judge of results by what had been in former days. Comparisons were drawn between the state of the Church "ready to sink into insignificance" at that critical juncture when the General Synod was founded, and "the favorable and cheering results which in a few years were reported from all sections." "Our Synods, and the General Synod as well as the churches, enjoy an amount of the public confidence and esteem which must satisfy and encourage greatly every Lutheran." The only drawback to the rapid expansion of the Church was again as always an inadequate army of ministers. Many of the most inviting points could not be occupied, and so great were the labors and exposures of many pastors that often their strength was prematurely exhausted. It was a sad reflection made at York in 1835 that with "two hundred and twenty laborers among eight hundred congregations, not a few have entered premature graves." Of others it was said that as the result of overwork "they bear evident marks of a wasting constitution and of a dissolution not far off."

While the revived prosperity of the Lutheran Church is doubtless largely to be ascribed to the formation of the General Synod, it was not confined to the synods organically incorporated with it. The activity and advance of those not associated with it were, however, directly or indirectly stimulated by

the general body, whose paramount influence in determining the character and advancing the interests of the native Lutheran Church is not likely to be gainsayed.

The Pennsylvania Synod was permeated by the same spirit and developed along the same lines. Bonds of strong and conspicuous sympathy kept it in practical co-operation with the measures of the General Synod. The majority of its ministers heartily united with the latter in Missionary, Education and Sunday-school work and "in the preparation of a uniform liturgy for the use of the Church." Its congregations contributed freely to the support of the seminary at Gettysburg and a large proportion of its young men were sent to study in its halls.

Dr. S. S. Schmucker in his "Retrospect of Lutheranism" testifies: "Much might be said of the honorable manner in which the greater part of the brethren and churches in East Pennsylvania, and elsewhere, whilst yielding to the prejudices of the weaker members, yet continued to afford their substantial and increasing aid to every good work undertaken by this Synod, so that much of the credit for what has been achieved, is justly due to their co-operation." And Dr. C. P. Krauth, Jr., in an editorial in the *Lutheran and Missionary*, May 3, 1866, says: "The relations of that Synod to the General Synod were never antagonistic or unfriendly. * * * Throughout there was a majority of her ministers favorable to active co-operation with the General Synod." But they forbearingly deferred for the time to the reactionary minority which opposed Bible Societies, Theological

Seminaries, Missionary and Sunday-school Associations and in short all organized forms of Christian activity.

Assurances of "undiminished affection" for the brethren of that body were repeatedly expressed by the General Synod, confident of "the ardent attachment" which many in that body bore to it. In the minutes of 1827 it rejoices that "this Synod continues to be in a prosperous condition, and some churches in its bounds have been visited with peculiar seasons of refreshment."

The desire for the return of this body "to that union in the establishment of which they sustained a principal part and which will remain to after ages a monument of their zeal for the cause of God," was frequently voiced by the General Synod. Reviewing "the harmony, unanimity and evangelical zeal" which animated the brethren of the Synod of Pennsylvania, they longed for the day when they should see them "unite their counsels and energies with ours." In the Old Synod also, the matter of reuniting with the General Synod was from time to time agitated, especially in 1839 and 1840, but the apprehensions and prejudices which led to the withdrawal in 1823 were found to be still smouldering. They were readily inflamed by the prevalence of the English language in the General Synod and the popularity of the "new measures" within its bounds. Final action was therefore deferred on the plea that "the time had not come." The consummation so long devoutly cherished by many on both sides was at last realized in 1853, when seven pastors and seven lay-delegates appeared as represent-

atives of that body and were welcomed with great joy at the meeting of the General Synod at Winchester, Va. Two years previously the Synod had endowed a German Professorship in Pennsylvania College. The incumbent of this chair was likewise to give instruction in the Theological Seminary.

The New York Synod, which had taken an honorable part in the founding of the General Synod, came into organic relations with it in 1837. The Ohio Synod after having a representation at one meeting, stood aloof, yet its missionary zeal is often lauded in the proceedings of the General Synod. No antagonism had as yet developed, and delegates to this body as well as to the Synods of Pennsylvania and New York, were appointed by the General Synod as late as 1829.

One of the most conspicuous features of the General Synod was its conciliatory attitude toward synods not in its connection. It not only sought their counsels and energies to be united with it, but as their approval of its doctrinal character, its general spirit and grand aims, was well known, it avowed its readiness to make any concessions "consistent with the grand design of the association," in order "to conciliate all minds and afford full and general satisfaction."

It sought to embrace the whole church. And as it brought together a large proportion of the most intelligent and influential clerical and lay representatives from remote sections, joined them into a family of brethren, ascertained from them the interests and needs of the whole church, inspired mutual confidence, and provoked one another to good works, it was in-

strumental in developing a consciousness of strength, awakening a sense of responsibility, and engendering a fellow feeling. It united the wisdom, piety, ability and energy of the Church, north, east, south and west, and by the concentration of all her resources for objects to which no individual synod could have been competent, it was able to provide in large measure for the wants and prosperity of the whole Church.

A warm spiritual life coursing through all the arteries of Christ's body, and wise leaders directing it, there was a rapid expansion of the Church's borders as well as of her influence and power. Following the steady flow of population, missionaries organized new congregations on the territory now embraced in Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois and Missouri. These, though widely scattered, were united into a new synod in 1835, under the title of the Synod of the West. Among its founders were Revs. William Jenkins, Daniel Scherer and Abraham Reck. In a few years it numbered twenty-three ministers—to-day more than a thousand Lutheran ministers preach in those parts—and in 1840 it united with the General Synod. The following year the English district of Ohio, now the East Ohio Synod, did the same. The Synod of South Carolina united in 1835, that of Virginia in 1839. The Synod of East Pennsylvania, whose organization on the territory of the mother synod in 1842 is to be ascribed largely to the increasing demand for English services and for the progressive measures then commonly associated with English, united in 1843, and with it the Allegheny and Southwest Virginia Synods; the Miami Synod in 1845, the Illi-

nois and Wittenberg in 1848, the Olive Branch in 1850, the Texas, Northern Illinois and Pittsburg Synods in 1853, the Kentucky, Central Pennsylvania and English District of Ohio (the second English District of the Joint Synod of Ohio) in 1855, the Northern Indiana, Southern Illinois and English Iowa in 1857, the Melanchthon in 1859.

The maximum of the General Synod's growth was reached in the year 1860, when it embraced 26 synods spread over almost the entire territory of the Union, all the synods in fact which comprised to any extent the native Lutheran population, except that of the Joint-Ohio and the Tennessee, aggregating 864 out of 1313 ministers, and 164,000 out of 245,000 communicants, *i. e.* two-thirds of the Lutheran Church in this country.

The out-break of the civil war caused the withdrawal of the synods south of the Potomac, with a total of 125 ministers, 205 congregations, and 21,098 communicants.

A rupture more serious in character and more far-reaching in consequences was soon to be experienced. At the time of the organization of the General Synod confessional laxity had deeply penetrated the life of the Lutheran Church, although a stricter and conservative element also remained. Both tendencies came into the general body and continued for many years side by side without any sharp antagonism or conflict. "It embraced elements," says Dr. C. P. Krauth, "which were distinctively Lutheran and others distinctively Latitudinarian. The first party was on the whole more Lutheran in doctrine and more active in

piety than the second. Their relatively higher Lutheranism was connected with a relatively higher spirituality and aggressiveness. Though they had so far felt the evil tendency of the times that they fell far below the doctrinal decision and consistent Lutheranism of Muhlenberg and his co-laborers, yet they were relatively decided, relatively Lutheran, and their Lutheranism had something of the ardor and earnestness of that earlier time. It was their desire to make the General Synod as strong in government and as Lutheran in doctrine as they possibly could. The more decided Lutheran influence prevailed and the friends of the laxer tendencies dropped off from the General Synod." Dr. K. gives this as indubitably in part, the philosophy of "the tacit withdrawal of the Pennsylvania Synod."

"While it guarded against taking a position which would necessarily exclude the laxer elements, the General Synod always maintained that the strictest Lutherans could conscientiously unite with it and that their objections on the score of laxity were ungrounded." The Tennessee Synod gave indeed a more pronounced adhesion to the Confessions than the General Synod, "whose constitution shows only too many sad traces of the embarrassments of the period," yet upon its subsequent acknowledgment of the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession as a standard of faith, "it was the only voluntary body on earth, pretending to embrace a nation as its territory and bearing a Lutheran name, in which the fundamental doctrines of Lutheranism were the basis of a union." Such is the testimony of the ablest mind the

Church has produced in America, when speaking of the formation of the General Synod. The two tendencies dwelling in one body must inevitably develop their inherent nature, and their antagonistic character. So strong, however was the desire for unity and so paramount the spirit of conciliation that a sharp collision was for a long time averted. The conservative element sought more and more to revive the principles of historic Lutheranism, which had fallen into desuetude under the rationalistic sway of the previous period. It studied with ardor the confessions of the Church, brought once more to light its devotional treasures, and endeavored to foster the Lutheran type of Christianity by returning to "the good old ways of the fathers." Others were so carried away with the ideal of the American type of religion that they fancied the only way to get the warmth of Methodism and the vigor of Presbyterianism was, as Dr. C. A. Stork put it, "to disembowel their own Church of heart and lungs."

A few leading representatives of this element progressed to the point of publishing (anonymously) in 1855 an "American Recension of the Augsburg Confession," from which they omitted certain alleged "errors contained in the Confession," Baptismal Regeneration and the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of the Savior in the Eucharist being designated among others. Its appearance raised a storm throughout the Church. "Extremely unlutheran, unchurchly and even rationalistic positions were assumed" by some who defended the "Platform," says Dr. Morris in his "Fifty Years in the Lutheran Minis-

try." On the other hand it was indignantly and universally rejected by the Eastern Synods, their judgment being well expressed in the resolution prepared by Dr. J. A. Brown and adopted unanimously by the Synod of East Pennsylvania which denounced it as a "most dangerous attempt to change the doctrinal basis and revolutionize the existing character of the Lutheran Churches now united in the General Synod."

The opposition to this onslaught on the Confession was so decided and overwhelming that the authors of it, though men of prominence and ability, at once lost their prestige, and the subject was never so much as mooted in the General Synod. But it became a touch-stone for the trial and rapid development of the two tendencies, and the agitation which followed awakened grave fears of an ultimate disruption. A few years later at York, 1864, the General Synod explicitly repudiated the charge that the alleged errors were contained in the Confession, and "before God and his Church" declared that the Augsburg Confession, "properly interpreted, is in perfect consistence with the Holy Scriptures as regards the errors specified."

At the same convention it so amended its constitution as to require all synods seeking connection with it "to receive and hold the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word and of the faith of our Church founded on that Word." By this doctrinal basis imposed on the District Synods as a condition of union with it, and the previous adoption of Luther's Cate-

chism "without qualification," and the definition of fundamentals in the Liturgy of 1847, it is the testimony of Dr. C. P. Krauth, Jr., "the General Synod's Lutheran soundness is fully vindicated." "These testimonials," he maintained "are its real basis, official statements, back of which no man has a right to go."

The growing ascendancy of positive Lutheranism stimulated the antagonism of the laxer element. Violent discussions and agitations ensued, which were



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heightened by complaints of doctrinal unsoundness and neglect of the German interest at Gettysburg. The heart of the body had become exceedingly sensitive. The tension between opposing principles had reached a degree which made a break imminent on the slightest disturbance.

The crisis was reached in 1864, at York, when the Franckean Synod applied for admission. This body had been charged with serious defection from Lutheran doctrine, had for a quarter of a century stood aloof from the General Synod, and had not given any

recognition to the Augsburg Confession. Its application was accordingly rejected, until it should formally adopt the Confession as received by the General Synod.

The Franckean deputies felt aggrieved by this exclusion. They urged that "in adopting the constitution of that body, the members of the Franckean Synod fully understood that they were adopting the doctrinal position of the General Synod." Their friends on this representation were able to call for a reconsideration, which after an earnest and protracted discussion resulted in receiving them by a vote of ninety-seven to forty, with the understanding that their Synod, at its next meeting, declare in an official manner, its adoption of the doctrinal articles of the Augsburg Confession, as a substantially correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Word of God.

The minority entered a protest, expressing deep grief "that by this action of the General Synod its constitution has been sadly and lamentably violated." The delegation of the Pennsylvania Synod further presented a paper, recalling that their Synod had renewed organic relations, with the reservation that should the General Synod violate its constitution, and require assent to anything conflicting with the old and long established faith of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, its delegates shall protest against such action, withdraw from its sessions and report to their body, and declaring their purpose "to withdraw from the sessions of the General Synod, in order to report to the Synod of Pennsylvania at its approaching convention."

The vote for the admission of the Franckean Synod was by no means entirely on confessional lines. Many who gave their voice in favor of it regarded the adoption of the constitution of the General Synod by that body, a virtual adoption of the Augsburg Confession, and held that their promise to adopt it formally at their next regular session was evidence of their good faith.

The withdrawal of the Pennsylvania delegation was unanimously approved by that Synod at its next convention. Nevertheless it adopted the constitutional amendments which had been sent down to it, as to the other synods, and the following year chose a full delegation to the General Synod at its meeting at Fort Wayne, but in the organization of that body the chair ruled that that Synod must be considered "in a state of practical withdrawal from the governing functions of the General Synod," and that consequently its delegation could not be received until after the organization of the convention.

Three days' discussion of the question followed this parliamentary ruling, the members of the Pennsylvania delegation participating. They were subsequently requested by resolution "to waive what may seem to them an irregular organization of this Body, and to acquiesce in the present organization." Their response to this was, that if "this Body shall now declare that the Synod of Pennsylvania had, as it claimed to have, the constitutional right to be represented before the election of officers, and to take part in it, we are perfectly willing to waive the right of voting, will acquiesce in the present organization, and will take our

seats in this Body, equals among equals." The reply of the majority that "they could not conscientiously recede" from their action, and a protest from the minority, closed the conflict on the floor of the Synod.

The die was cast. The prospect of a general Evangelical Lutheran organization in this country was dispelled. At its next convention the Pennsylvania Synod formally severed its relations with the General Synod. The Ministerium of New York followed, at the cost of a schism in its own constituency, nearly all its English churches and pastors adhering to the General Synod. The Pittsburg Synod also withdrew and experienced a rupture. The English Ohio, the Minnesota and the Texas Synods took the same course, and the Synod of Illinois was disbanded, to be reorganized on the lines along which the whole Church, including not a few individual congregations, was being rent asunder.

Shortly after the unhappy dissensions at York in 1864, Rev. James A. Brown, D. D., succeeded Dr. S. S. Schmucker as Professor of Theology in the Gettysburg Seminary. He immediately became one of the most conspicuous as he was probably the ablest champion of the General Synod. He wielded a powerful pen, was skilled in polemics, and on the floor of Synod, in particular, was such a master in debate as to bear down all opposition. He had been wont to affiliate with the conservatives, and was firmly set against certain teachings and tendencies of their antagonists. He had inflicted heavy blows on the "Definite Platform" and other deviations from sound Lutheranism, and was wont to denounce all fanaticisms,

and but for the unhappy conflict now thrust upon the Church, he might have long co-operated in the development of the Lutheran Church with many of those who left the General Synod; but when in the progress of the struggle the assaults of the opposition were directed principally against the Seminary over which he presided and against the doctrinal basis of the General Synod, he contended with might and



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main against what he considered the revival of the "Old Lutheran theology."

"As the result of his teachings," says Dr. Charles A. Stork, "there went forth from Gettysburg a succession of young men who had a new view of the Lutheran Church, of her theology, her spirit and genius, and of the work she had to do. * * They were learning to value their own mother Church, and her

rich and full type of Christian doctrine and life. It is true our young men did not know Lutheran theology thoroughly; on many minor points they were cloudy. But they were set on the way to know that theology. They had a belief in the true individuality and value of her type of life, and they began to build the walls on the old foundations. For much of this the Church of to-day owes a debt of gratitude to Dr. Brown's theological work." His sudden disability by a stroke of paralysis in the prime of his eminent endowments, caused universal sorrow, and was viewed, even by those most hostile to his position, as a great calamity.

Since the division in 1866 six synods, several of them having grown up in the west, have united with the General Synod, which now aggregates 23 synods, 997 ministers, 1,364 congregations, and 153,064 communicants. It receives and holds "with the Evangelical Lutheran Church of our fathers, the Word of God, as contained in the Canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, as the only infallible rule of faith and practice, and the Augsburg Confession as a correct exhibition of the fundamental doctrines of the Divine Word, and of the faith of our Church founded upon that Word." And whatever may have been the case in the past, the specific doctrines of the Lutheran Confessions are to-day taught explicitly and *ex animo* in all the theological schools connected with the General Synod. The standard reference book in each of them is Schmid's Theology of the Lutheran Church.

CHAPTER XI.

THE INDEPENDENT SYNODS.

THE TENNESSEE SYNOD.

THE very year which brought into being the General Synod witnessed also the organization of the Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod, a body which, for a long time, was its only antagonist. Whatever other causes may have been active in separating the founders of this body from the Synod of North Carolina, doctrinal hostility, both to that body and to the newly-formed General Synod became immediately prominent. Rev. Dr. Bernheim says: "Doctrinal differences were at first not very apparent, except on the ordination question; however it was perceptible, as early as 1816, that everything was tending toward a disruption, and that only some occasion or circumstance was wanting to produce it."

The occasion was offered when the North Carolina Synod, in order to send a representative to the Pennsylvania Synod in 1819, for the purpose of considering the project of a General Synod, held its annual meeting six weeks earlier than the appointed time. When the regular time arrived on Trinity Sunday, Rev. Philip Henkel, who had given notice that he could not recognize the irregular meeting, his brother, Rev. David Henkel, a catechist of the synod, and Rev. Joseph Bell, a candidate, assembled at Organ Church,

Rowan county, N. C., for the purpose of holding Synod. The two latter were ordained by the former. As the use of the church was denied them for Synodical business, the ordination took place in the grove adjoining. The proceedings of the earlier meeting were pronounced null and void, and the three brethren assumed the name and title of the Synod of North Carolina. Warm controversies ensued and these developed a sharp conflict of doctrine which rendered fruitless all attempts at reconciliation in the following year, when both bodies assembled at the same time and place to hold a Synodical convention. After an earnest discussion of their differences, the majority withdrew to another building. Those who remained soon adjourned and a few months later, July 17, 1820, completed the organization of the Tennessee Synod, adopting this name on account of the state in which they met, their congregations being scattered also over the Carolinas and Virginia.

The doctrines dividing the two parties were chiefly Original Sin, the Person of Christ, and especially Baptism and the Lord's Supper. On all these the North Carolina Synod was condemned as holding unlutheran views, and "the plan for a general union of our church," so warmly espoused by that synod, was declared to be "against the Augsburg Confession." The General Synod was denounced as a hierarchy depriving the congregations of their rights," a measure replete with mischief, threatening imminent danger to the liberties of the American people." All the other Synods were in fact condemned as heretical.

The new organization was the only synod which

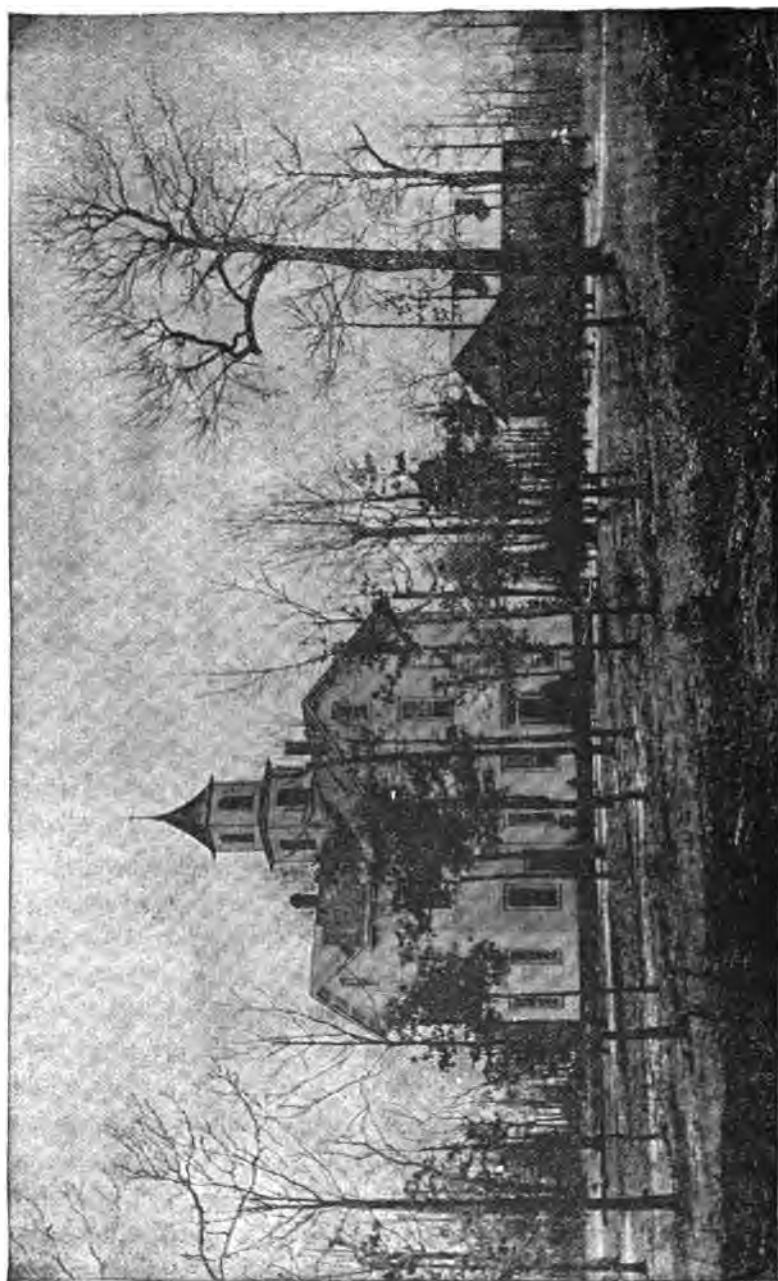
then formally and unqualifiedly received the Augsburg Confession. Its members considered it for a long time their special mission to oppose the General Synod and to preserve and develop the pure Lutheran faith in America. Their leader and ablest champion to the time of his death was Rev. David Henkel, a son of Rev. Paul Henkel. By close application and private study he had acquired a knowledge of Latin and Greek, of Hebrew and Theology, and understood the mastery of men as well as of books.

For the sake of preserving a language which contained the treasures of Lutheran literature, German was at first made obligatory in the discussions of the Synod, but in less than twenty years its use disappeared, and that without any abatement in the devotion to Lutheran doctrine. During a period of forty-five years the Augsburg Confession was recognized as a sufficient exponent of the Lutheran faith, while Luther's Small Catechism was the manual for the instruction of the young. But in 1866 the other Symbols were declared to be a faithful scriptural explanation of the doctrines contained in the Augsburg Confession. As general indifference to those features which characterize the Lutheran Church had long prevailed, the apprehension of Lutheran doctrines was to these men like a new and rich discovery, and the tide running strongly against them, had the effect of making them very firm and zealous in their maintenance. Great stress was laid upon them in their preaching. They were talked about constantly by the way and at the fireside and made an all important element in the examination of candidates for the ministry. Thus

the clergy, whatever their defects, have always been well grounded in Lutheran dogmatics.

A high standard of general education was always advocated, and though proper institutions were at first lacking, all candidates were expected to submit to an examination in Greek and Hebrew. Even after they had received license to preach as deacons they were required to prosecute their studies from two to six years before they could enter fully the pastoral office. The Synod, in the interests of a thorough preparation and indoctrination, deviated in this for some time from the Lutheran principle of the parity of ministers.

Fully persuaded that the doctrines of the Lutheran Church were the doctrines of God's Word and recognizing the duty of those who have come to a knowledge of the truth to publish it to the world, these Tennesseans had recourse to the press and issued from time to time a number of translations from German theological works, as well as original doctrinal, devotional and polemic treatises, being in this respect as well as in their unreserved acceptance of the Confession far in advance of the other Lutheran Synods. Fortunately a publishing house had been founded by the Henkel family as early as 1805 at New Market, Va. When the Tennessee Synod was formed this came at once into its service, and it had until very recently good grounds for the claim that it has published more distinctively Lutheran theological works in the English language than any other publishing house in the world. Its most daring and important enterprise was the English translation of the Christian Book of Concord, or the whole of the Lutheran



CONCORDIA COLLEGE, CONOVER, N. C.

Symbols, the first edition of which appeared in 1851. It was a work of faith and self-sacrificing devotion, conceived and directed by a layman, Dr. Samuel Godfrey Henkel, but encouraged and supported by the Synod. A second, revised edition was called for three years later. "Luther on the Sacraments" was issued in 1853, and Luther's "Church Postil," Sermons on the Epistles for the Sundays and Festivals of the year, in 1869. The result of these publications in reviving and preserving the faith of our fathers cannot be estimated, and the pain of heart with which we note this first rupture of the Lutheran body in America, is considerably relieved when one sees how the providence of God employed it to recover the buried and almost forgotten treasures of the Reformation and to coin them into the current language of this great country.

Catechisation was from the beginning the main reliance for building up congregations. For many years no one except in very special cases was confirmed without a previous course of instruction. The pastors were wont to teach continuously from ten to fifteen days of six hours each. They used the Catechism as a basis. With this they propounded questions to awaken thought, and after stating clearly a specific truth required each catechumen to find and mark the proof-text in his own bible. They dismissed no subject until they were sure that conviction had been wrought. Patient, faithful and devoted in this work, they made their catechumens intelligent Lutherans, enlightened Christians, and it was only in rare cases that a member of their congregations, no

matter what his location or situation, left the Lutheran Church.

Always animated by the missionary spirit, the aggressive work of the Synod was very much hindered and has been largely misunderstood through a singular article in its Constitution. Dreading whatever savors of the union of Church and State, it prohibited the Synod from becoming an incorporated body and from having a treasury for either missions or Theological Seminaries. This precluded efficient organization and a business-like management of the cause, but although this interfered materially with the garnering of the harvest, it did not damp the ardor nor arrest the activity of sowing the seed. The statistics may not be flattering, but the ministers, almost to a man, were missionaries in every sense of the word. With no board to aid them, no treasury to support them, they made long journeys North, West and South, in nine different States, on horse-back, over rough ways, through wild and thinly settled districts, exposed to serious dangers, and suffering great privations, teaching, preaching, baptizing, organizing congregations and administering the Holy Supper, trusting for their expenses to the communities which they visited. Some of the ministers devoted half their time to this work. In later years missionary operations have been conducted through the three conferences into which the Synod is divided.

As the visible result of her missionary work, the Tennessee Synod points to the organization of the Indiana Synod in 1835, the English Conference of Missouri, which has become a district of the Missouri

Synod, and the Holston Synod, organised in 1860 by the ministers and congregations in the State of Tennessee. Notwithstanding these separations and in spite of a multitude of peculiar obstacles, the parent body still numbers thirty-two ministers, somewhat more than one hundred congregations, ten thousand communicants, "intelligent, reading, thinking and industrious people," and has flourishing schools at Conover and Dallas, both in the State of North Carolina, and at Luray, Va. Concordia College at Conover has both a Theological and a Collegiate department, and is controlled by the Synod. The other two are female institutions in the hands of successful instructors. In one of its first conventions this Synod put upon record its conviction that slavery is an evil and appealed to the government to devise measures for its abolition. It called likewise upon slave-owners to provide in the meantime for the Christian education of their slaves, a large number of whom it appears from the pastoral reports were baptized by its pastors. The *Columbus Standard* was its organ till the outbreak of the war. It now publishes "Our Church Paper."

The Synod maintained its independence until in July 1886 at Roanoke, Va., it joined with the other Lutherans Synods of the South in forming the United Synod, a union being thus effected of bodies which had for fifty years antagonized each other. The grounds for this happy consummation are numerous. Time had softened the asperities of religious controversy. Old prejudices had died away. A spirit of concord and co-operation had made itself felt. A

sense of responsibility to gather the harvest which Providence had ripened, pointed to union as the condition of success. The Tennesseans were not conscious of any relaxation of Lutheran orthodoxy, yet in some respects a more liberal tendency prevailed. A new constitution was adopted in 1866 and the majority were sufficiently satisfied with the confessional advance which marked the other Synods to enter into organic relations with them. Finally by education, by long contact and personal association, both parties had mutually come to a better understanding of each other's spirit principles and work.

THE JOINT SYNOD OF OHIO.

THE oldest Lutheran organization west of the Allegheny mountains is the Joint Synod of Ohio and adjacent States. Its beginnings date back to 1812, between which date and 1817 special conferences were held of the various Lutheran pastors who had found their way to the new State of Ohio. The name of Conference was retained down to the year 1830. The first meeting of the Joint Synod, as such, was not held until 1833. Its origin and development did not spring from the deliberations of an older body in the East, but rather from the necessity of the case as seen and appreciated by a few Lutheran pastors. People of the Lutheran faith were found among the early settlers of Ohio, chiefly in Fairfield, Perry, Pickaway, Montgomery, Columbiana, Stark and Jefferson counties. The missionary spirit that now prompts the Lutheran Synods to look to the spiritual interests of their brethren who seek homes and fortunes in remote

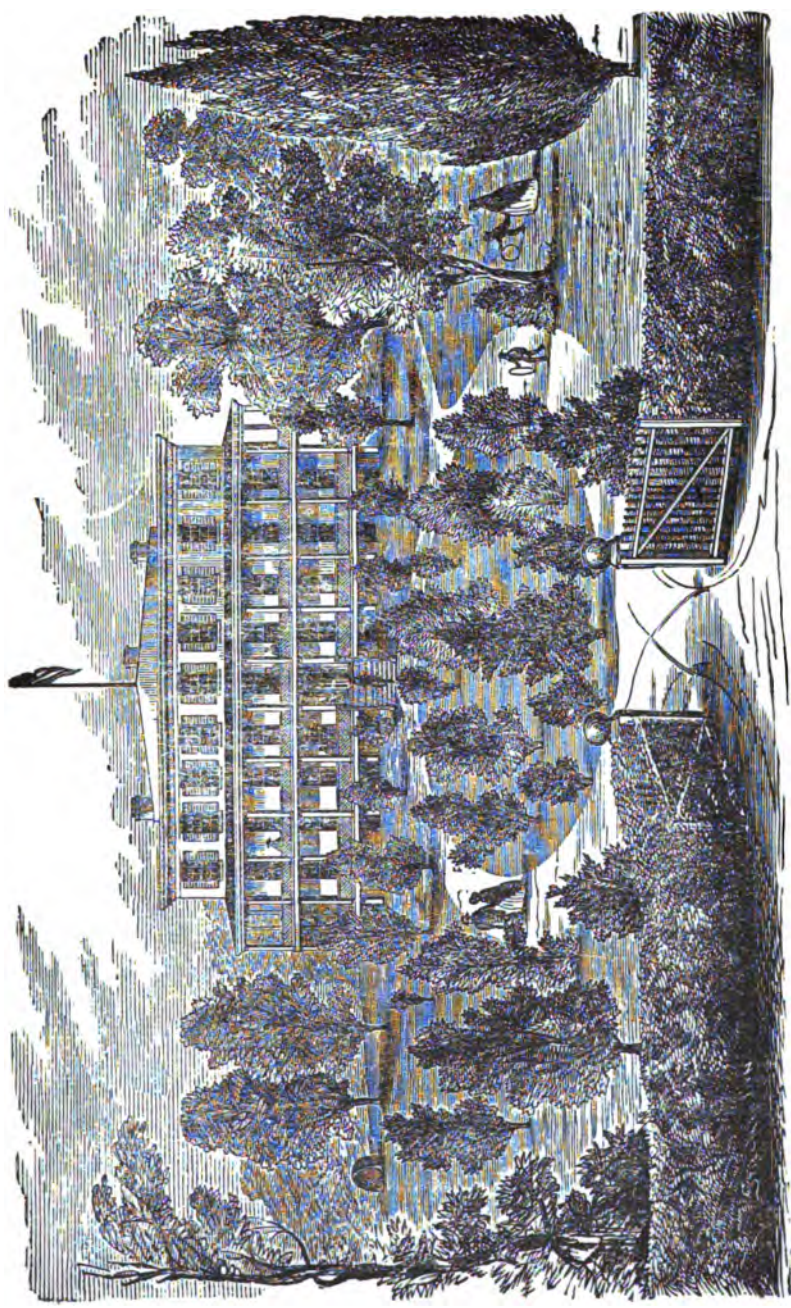


districts, did not operate then as it does now. The understanding and appreciation of the historic teachings of the Church of the Reformation had not been so fully developed, and accordingly had not become so determined and aggressive. The few weak synods had, besides, such an abundance of labor in their own territory that little could be done for the destitute brethren in the West. The pioneer gospel work devolved therefore, of necessity, mainly upon those who in themselves felt the call and the need of planting the Lutheran Church in the new settlements and gathering into folds her scattered children.

The work of that day had a unique character and was really indicative of greater zeal and fervor than are the organized missionary efforts of our synods in the new West at present. Neither money nor honor awaited those first messengers of the cross. They could expect only a living, a poor one at that as a rule, and the approval of their conscience. By men of this stamp and actuated by this spirit were laid the foundations for the first Lutheran Synod of the West. They employed almost exclusively the German tongue the object being to gather into congregations those who in Europe had been members of the Lutheran state churches, or in the East had been Lutheran. Even yet is the Home Mission activity of the Lutherans distinguished from that of the other denominations by the fact that it aims primarily, and often exclusively, at gathering their own lost sheep. The English portion of the Church has of late years addressed itself more to the general public and with cheering results. The founders of the Ohio Synod introduced English

at an early date. The rapid Americanization of the German Lutherans, especially in language, made it imperative, and soon led to the organization of an English district.

These pastors had a task before them not easy to accomplish. The Lutherans were widely scattered. They were wanting this world's goods, but, as a rule, anxious to hear the Gospel and from teachers of their own Church. The facilities for getting from one place to another were exceedingly poor, and the almost endless journeys of these preachers, generally on horseback, always involved great fatigue, privation and often danger. One would frequently spend six or seven weeks on a missionary tour of this sort. Such hospitality as the people could give he accepted, and his remuneration was generally little or nothing. The story of the ups and downs of these men and the zeal they displayed reads almost like a romance. It is refreshing in these days when the general tendencies of the churches, and of their pastors, in a measure too, are toward effeminacy and ease, to read of the sturdy courage, the untiring activity, and the persistent, heroic enterprise of these men. They were, perhaps, not as deeply versed in theological lore as are the pastors of to-day. Their libraries consisted merely of a handful of books, and they did not have the time or opportunity to secure scholastic attainments. But though lacking in their heads they were rich in their hearts. Their preaching was the promulgation of the simple Gospel truth without much rhetorical flourish or ornamental paraphernalia. But they worked suc-



WERNLE ORPHANS' HOME, RICHMOND, IND.

cessfully in a field that required greater devotion and enterprise than do the missionary efforts of to-day.

The growth of the Ohio Synod has been steady, and in comparison with most of the other Lutheran Synods, rapid. Its present statistics are two hundred and seventy pastors, sixty-five parochial school teachers, four hundred and twenty congregations and fifty-seven thousand eight hundred and seventy-two communicants. It was from the beginning zealous for education and in the number of its institutions compares very favorably with the other Lutheran bodies. The Theological Seminary at Columbus was established in 1833. Capital University at the same place. in 1850. It sustains now five different higher institutions, with nearly three hundred students for the clerical or pedagogic vocation, and a Home sheltering one hundred orphans

The running expenses of these institutions reach the sum of \$30,000, all of which except what is derived from the publishing house at Columbus, is provided by the benevolence of the congregations. The cost of their erection has also been borne by the people in general, the largest single donation thus far made being \$5,000.00, contributed several years ago for the liquidation of the debt on Capital University.

The rapid growth of the work of the Synod in the last ten or fifteen years as compared with that of the decades preceding, is due largely to the rapid development of missionary interest and the increase of territory occupied by the Synod. Ten years ago the different districts of the Synod, of which there were six, two English and the rest German, did a

little work in this direction, but the appointment of a general Mission Committee, in 1884, marked the beginning of a new era. Missionary work is now being done in twenty states and territories, from North Carolina and Maryland in the East to Oregon and Washington Territory in the West. Formerly there was not a single missionary engaged exclusively in the work, the pastors doing what they could in this direction in addition to their congregational duties, now there are twenty-six missionaries under the direction of the Committee and fully twenty-five more have been called for. Some of these missionaries have as high as a dozen, fifteen or even twenty preaching places, the majority of which in a short time generally become fully organized congregations. The annual expenses of the Mission Committee are about twelve thousand dollars, a large proportion of which is raised by the Sunday-schools on Children's Day. The most of this work is among the German emigrants of the West, although English interests are cared for also, particularly in the larger cities. The cause is growing in the Synod in a most encouraging manner and is one of the best signs of its inner prosperity and soundness.

The Ohio Synod has all along, with the exception of about a dozen years when it was in connection with the Synodical Conference, been an independent body. Efforts were made in earlier times to form a union with the General Synod and later with the General Council; but in both cases the attempt proved a failure. This was the case principally on account of the conservative and strictly confessional standpoint of the Ohio Synod. The union with the

Conference was severed in 1881, on account of the doctrine of Predestination as taught by the Missouri Synod, the leading member of the Conference. The Synod has at no time enjoyed a more flourishing period than it does now, and the prospects for successful work were never better. The language question has caused but little difficulty. Just now it is the transition period, and in fully one third of the charges both German and English preaching are required, the former for the older the latter for the younger element. There are thirty or forty exclusively English congregations. This state of affairs is reflected in the institutions, in which the German and the English are both used as mediums of instruction and intercourse. On the floor of Synod both languages have equal rights and all transactions are recorded in both. Its popular periodicals, *The Standard* and *Die Lutherische Kirchenzeitung*, and its theological journals, *The Theological Monthly* and *Theologische Zeitblaetter* are ably conducted, and it has made valuable contributions to permanent church literature.

THE IOWA SYNOD.

THE German Synod of Iowa and other States accepts the Bible as the only rule of faith and the Lutheran Confessions as "the pure and unadulterated representation of the divine Word and Law." It condemns secret societies as anti-christian and repudiates all unionistic tendencies. Holding unreservedly all doctrines of faith expressed in the Symbolical Books as binding, it allows diversity of opinion on theological questions which do not come in conflict with articles



REV. GOTTFRIED FRITSCHER, D. D.

of faith. Among such "open questions" in which full agreement, though desirable, is not absolutely necessary to Church fellowship, are "the development and explanation of Eschatology, Anti-Christ, the Sabbath and the Holy Office."

In the fall of 1853, Rev. G. Grossman, Superintendent of the first Protestant Normal School of this country, who had come into collision with the Missouri Synod on one of the above "questions," removed his school to Dubuque, Iowa, so as not to occasion schisms in neighboring congregations of that body. After some disheartening trials, he began teaching here with two students who had accompanied him; several were sent from Germany and on November 10 a seminary was opened in a building which served as church, parsonage, school-room and professor's residence. Free lodging was the professor's salary. In the following July Rev. Sigmund Fritschel became second instructor. These two in company with Rev. J. Deindorfer, who had left Michigan along with Grossman and settled west of Dubuque, and Rev. M. Schueller who served a congregation near Dubuque, formed themselves, August 24, 1854, at St. Sebald, into the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa.

No Synod in the United States has been founded under more discouraging prospects. Its three congregations—one consisting of less than six families—were absolutely unable to support a seminary. Once during that year the institution was actually discontinued for a few days, when an unexpected gift enabled the work to be resumed. But for many years all had to live and labor in great poverty as but little financial

support came from congregations. The seminary was removed to St. Sebald, 1857, where a part of its support could be raised on a farm. The professors for the time received house-rent and board. Rev. S. Fritschel had accepted a call to a congregation in 1854, as only one teacher could be supported; but in May, 1857, his brother, Rev. Gottfried Fritschel, took his place, while a year later he returned to the seminary.

In 1855 the Synod had five ministers and five con-



GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN ORPHAN ASYLUM, TOLEDO, O.

gregations, in 1856 nine and eight respectively; in 1858 these figures had grown to eighteen and thirty-one; in 1861 to thirty-six and fifty. In its eleventh year, 1865, it reached fifty ministers, seventy congregations and six thousand communicants.

From its organization this body showed earnest missionary zeal. No distance was too great, no roads

too rough, no season too unfavorable; in the heat of summer and in the cold blasts of western winters, through mud, slush and frozen streams, ministers sought and served new fields of labor. One professor frequently walked twenty-five miles and back between Saturday and Monday; another served congregations more than forty miles from his place of residence, traveling mostly afoot.

When the Buffalo and Missouri Synods maintained a contest, especially on the ministerial office, the Iowa Synod held an intermediate position between the democratic view of Missouri and the episcopal of Buffalo. It seemed for a time as though Iowa could work in harmony with Buffalo, and ministers of the former synod were called to congregations of the latter. But on account of certain eschatological views entertained by some of the Iowa men, these friendly relations were not long maintained.

The Missouri Synod took from the beginning a hostile stand toward members of the Iowa Synod. By its influential press these were vigorously attacked and the reproach of heresy was sought to be fixed upon them even in Germany. All endeavors to promote a good understanding between the two bodies proved vain, all explanations were misunderstood or misinterpreted. But Iowa did not relax its efforts to bring about peace with Missouri as well as with other synods. Its relations with the Minnesota and the Wisconsin Synods became very friendly, and eventually its continued endeavors were so far successful that a Colloquium was held with the Missouri Synod, November 13-19, 1867, at Milwaukee, Wis. The re-

sult was deemed encouraging by many. Though no agreement had been attained peace seemed possible.

Throughout this period the territory of the Iowa Synod continued to widen. A number of congregations were formed in the vicinity of Toledo, Ohio, Des Moines, Iowa, Madison, Wis., in south-eastern Missouri, in Illinois and elsewhere. Missionary work was also undertaken among the Indians. The first trials were made in 1856 by Rev. Jakob Schmidt in Canada; he went in 1858 to the Crows or Upsarokas between the Yellowstone river and the Black Hills. In 1859 he and M. Braeuninger, Doederlein and Seyler with two colonists started to establish a station on the Powder river, Wyoming, but in 1860, missionary Braeuninger was murdered by a band of Sioux.

A new station on the Deer Creek, Neb., was established among the Zistas or Cheyennes. Three Indian boys were given to be educated; missionary Krebs translated Luther's Catechism into the Cheyenne language and in 1863 the missionaries had commenced to preach in the Cheyenne language, when the Sioux induced all Indians in Nebraska to go upon the war-path. The missionaries reluctantly withdrew, only when a party of Sioux approached expressly to murder them. Thus unhappily ended the Indian mission in its very infancy. The Indian boys fled with the missionaries and were afterwards baptized. Two of them lie buried at St. Sebald; a plain cross marks the place; and the short inscription: "Two Indians," tells the story of a relatively fruitless enterprise.

The persistent attacks upon the Synod created gradually dissatisfaction within its bosom. In order

to set forth unmistakably its position the paragraph stating the doctrinal basis was changed to the form which had been used at every ordination from the very beginning. No change of doctrinal position was intended, but simply a more unmistakable form was adopted at Davenport 1873. The Synod was at once charged with having surrendered its former doctrinal basis, and by various means it was sought to produce dissatisfaction and disharmony within the body. From May 1, 1874 until October 15, 1875 the attacks of the "Lutheraner" were sent broadcast to ministers and members of the Iowa Synod. As a result of this the appearance of an organized party in the Synod divergent in objects yet one in opposition, and the dissolution of the Synod, seemed inevitable. The general meeting appointed for 1876 had to be held in 1875 at Madison. It adopted a series of resolutions clearly and finally stating its doctrinal basis; and the opposition broke into fragments. About twenty ministers severed their connection, leaving the number in the Synod about one hundred. Only a few of the congregations could be induced to secede with them, and the withdrawing ministers connected themselves mostly with Synods of the Synodical Conference.

In a suit-at-law brought by a majority of the congregation at Wilton, Iowa, to recover property from the minority and the pastor, the decision was in favor of the Iowa party, and the Supreme Court of Iowa sustained the judgment of the lower courts.

It had been alleged that the attacks upon the Iowa Synod were made on documentary evidence from official publications of the Synod. These proofs were

examined and refuted in "Iowa and Missouri," an exceedingly thorough work in which it is claimed the position of the Iowa Synod was fully vindicated.

The Theological Seminary was removed in 1874 to Mendota, Ills., and occupied a building of the former Mendota College of the General Synod.

The severe trials through which the Synod passed gave it greater strength and a rapid increase. At the Quarto-Centennial, celebrated in 1879 at Maxfield, Iowa, a Teachers' Seminary was established. In 1885 the College founded in 1868 was united with it and the institution is now in a flourishing condition at Waverly, Iowa, with an able staff of instructors. The Seminary also outgrew its quarters and when the Synod in 1888 called for \$10,000 to erect buildings at Dubuque, the congregations responded with \$15,000. The new building will accomodate ninety students.

Home Mission work was systematically organized in 1879 and the Synod has since worked quietly, but diligently, throughout the West, among the immigrants. Though every year from fifteen to twenty new workers are sent into the field these are insufficient to supply all the urgent applications. The rapid increase of recent years is as follows: 1875, one hundred and fourteen ministers, one hundred and eighty congregations; 1882, one hundred and seventy ministers, two hundred and seventy-five congregations; 1889, two hundred and seventy-two ministers, five hundred congregations, and not less than forty thousand communicants.

The Synod is divided into six districts, which meet annually; whilst the delegate Synod meets every third

year. Conferences are held for deliberation and the discussion of theological questions. Visitations are made to superintend the enforcement of the principles of the Synod. All the money necessary for the support of the Synod and its institutions is raised by the voluntary contributions of the congregations.

Besides the Seminary and the College, the Synod sustains two Orphans' homes; one at Toledo, Ohio and one at Andrew, Iowa. Support is given to the Foreign Missions of the General Council as well as to some Missionary Societies in Germany. The Wartburg Publishing House furnishes Lutheran books for home, school and church use, and three periodicals, the "*Kirchenblatt*," the "*Kirchliche Zeitschrift*," and "*Waisenhausblaetter*." A Mutual Aid Society assists widows and orphans; and a "*Pfarrwittwen-Kasse*" pays an annuity to widows of deceased ministers.

The Iowa Synod has always maintained friendly relations with the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, and has worked in harmony with it. But thus far it has not united organically with the Council; while it sincerely hopes the time will come when every obstacle to union may be removed.

One of its strong men, Rev. Gottfried Fritschel, D. D., has just passed to his reward. From the time of his ordination in 1857 he served as Professor in the Wartburg Seminary, where he labored with unfaltering diligence, with profound attainments and with enthusiasm for the Lutheran Church and her faith. Not less than four hundred students sat at his feet during this period and "he has left an impress upon all these minds which the Lutheran Church in

America will never cease to feel." He was beloved as a preacher as he was tireless in missionary activity. Of an irenic temper and diffident almost to a fault, circumstances forced him into controversies which he conducted with great ability and vigor. The prosperity which has attended the Iowa Synod and its Seminary is due under God in large measure "to the unpretentious and quiet but solid and faithful work which he did as a professor and teacher."

THE NORWEGIANS.

KLING PETERSEN, the first immigrant from Norway of whom we have any history, came to America in 1821. He returned after three years and aroused an American interest among his people. Rigging out a small vessel, he left Stavanger with fifty-two persons, July 4, 1825. Landing in New York, October 9, the little band proceeded to Rochester, N. Y., where they formed the first Norwegian colony in America.

In 1836-7 the first colonists settled in the west along Fox river, in La Salle county, Ill. Since then there has been a steadily increasing stream, bringing some years as high as fifteen thousand. These new comers are scattered over the whole country, so that Norwegian Lutheran churches are now found from Portland, Oregon, to Portland, Maine, from Manitoba to Texas. For years the people were destitute of pastoral care. They had brought with them their Bibles, hymn-books and devotional manuals, and thus they enjoyed the means of private edification, but having no church organization they suffered sad spiritual destitution. On every returning Lord's day they were

forcibly reminded of the wonted ringing of the church bells, of the stately churches, the beautiful liturgical service, the soul-stirring song, the richly robed minister, the elaborate sermon—in short of the entire worship, as they had enjoyed it in their native home. Those of a more decidedly Christian character called “Hauge’s Friends,” having been awakened by the religious movement under Hauge in Norway, did all in their power for spiritual improvement. They assembled with the people both on Sunday and week days for mutual edification. They had experienced the grace of God upon their own hearts, and would thus with power and unction exhort the people. They encouraged the faithful, strengthened the weak, and awakened the slumbering; but this supplied only in a measure the pressing want, and could not fill the place of public worship and pastoral care.

Scattered as sheep without shepherd these strangers were also subject to the proselyting schemes of sectarians. The Episcopalians approached them with their specious plea of “essentially no difference.” The Baptists by ordaining a proselyte expected to gain entrance into the Lutheran fold. Even the Mormons attempted, but in vain, to make inroads among them. Very few were misled by these encroachments. Some of them gladly returned to their spiritual home. The faith that possessed their hearts guarded them against a trumpet giving “an uncertain sound.” The Norwegians are conservative. Their Lutheranism has such root in their hearts that they do not readily exchange it for every new “ism.” Proselytism among them has, therefore, seldom been a success.

A spiritual awakening visited, in 1839, the community along the Fox river, where lay preachers were laboring, and in the following year the first "meeting-house" was erected. There was no ordained minister among them until 1843, when Mr. C. L. Clausen, who had been a lay preacher in the old country, having received a call from the congregations at Muskego and Yorkville, Wis., was ordained by a German Lutheran, Rev. C. F. Krause, of Milwaukee. In 1845 the first Norwegian Church was built in Muskego.

A synodical organization was attempted in 1846, but beyond a declaration of general principles nothing was effected. Another meeting, called at Middletown, Ill., in September, 1848, in order to meet the demands of the State laws, adopted as a rule for the congregations the "Church Discipline of the Franckean Synod," by which one of the ministers had been ordained. The Hauge's Synod dates from 1850.

No closer union between congregations took place until the fall of 1851, when the Norwegian, Swedish and English Lutherans united to form the Synod of Northern Illinois. In the year 1860, the two former withdrew on account of doctrinal differences, and in June of the same year organized the Scandinavian Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod in which the Norwegians and Swedes worked harmoniously together until 1870, when they separated on the line of nationality, and the Norwegian Augustana Synod was formed. It was composed also of followers of Hauge, having special concern for conversion and being in sympathy with the Hauge Synod, but more conservative, "prizing the Lutheran faith above every-

thing," yet dispensing with Liturgical worship. This body was the first to establish Sunday-schools and to introduce English in public services.

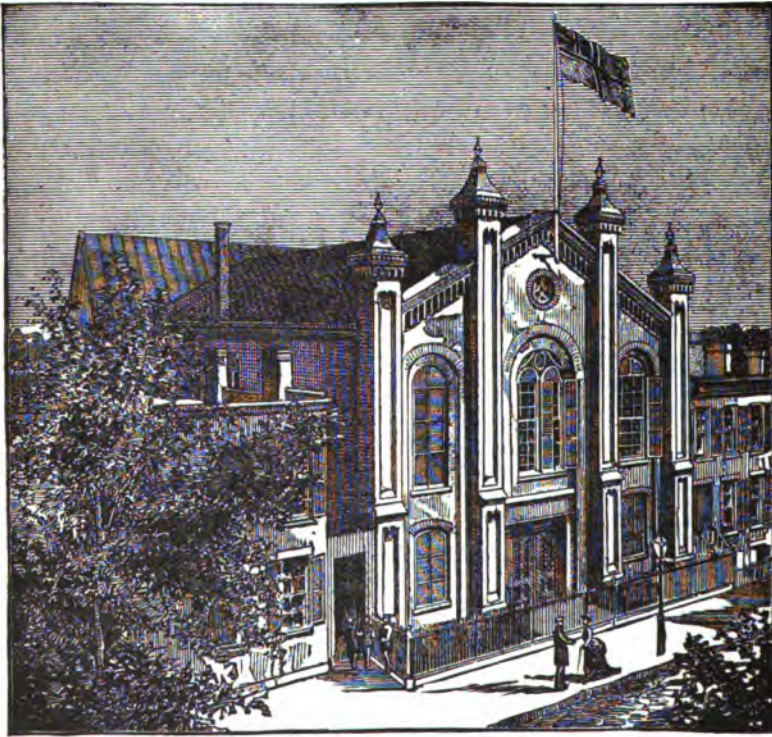
Those who in 1870 formed the "Conference" formerly belonged to the Augustana Synod, but a reaction against its bald worship and in favor of churchly practice led to the formation of a separate body. Its special zeal for churchliness and home missions has given it phenomenal progress.

With efficient organization and an ever-increasing emigration the Norwegian communion has had a steady growth. From the feeble beginnings little more than a generation ago have sprung 460 ministers, over 1,400 congregations and more than 140,000 communicants, maintaining five Theological Seminaries, two colleges, three preparatory schools and four religious papers.

The work of gathering in has been relatively easy. Even when wanting in personal piety the respect of the Norwegians for the Church and the Lutheran faith is such that unless they have become quite ungodly they mostly seek of their own accord the Church to which all belonged in the old country. A little encouragement seldom fails to win them.

Great missionary activity has been shown from the beginning, and it has been constantly increasing. This aggressive zeal is largely due to the foreign missionary interest which prevails in the mother church, and which is intensified here where means and opportunity are at hand. Two missionaries from Madagascar, each visiting congregations here some six months, within the last year, collected about

\$11,000 for that field. At its first organization the Church here was exclusively a missionary enterprise. No sooner had the old congregations become well established and self-supporting, than calls came to them constantly from new regions to send them



NORWEGIAN SEAMEN'S CHURCH, BROOKLYN, N. Y.

ministers and establish churches among them. Nor has the cry abated yet. Immigration is greater than ever before, removals from the old settlements and cities are constantly going on, and the people are now scattered into nearly every state and territory in the

Union. The majority of the annual Seminary graduates are sent into the mission field. With all that has been accomplished the means at hand are still utterly inadequate to meet the demands constantly made from all directions.

Great praise for the growth of the Norwegian Church is due to the early ministers, who laid a good foundation. Constrained by the love of Christ and deeming themselves called of God and men, because of the spiritual wants of their countrymen, they shrank from no sacrifice. The pioneer work was connected with all manner of hardships. The earliest immigrants were mostly poor people, many of them even in actual want. For years they had to battle against poverty, sickness, and numerous privations and disadvantages. Among such people, widely scattered, the first ministers were called to labor, necessitated to make long and difficult journeys, and to preach in small crowded houses and as a rule with no compensation. In this way, by being more of itinerant than local preachers, with many congregations and preaching places, it was that the people were kept together and preserved to the Church. The sermon had often little polish, but it had pith and marrow. It gave the pure, unadorned and unadulterated Word. And this is what the people longed for and what gave them strength and joy. A visit from the pastor every four or six weeks had to suffice. It proved a season of refreshing and kept them constant in the faith. The work was arduous, done for love's sake and not for lucre. It was richly blessed of God to the spiritual nourishment and preservation of many people.

The Norwegian branch of the Church presents a remarkable spectacle. From the very beginning of its organization here there have been three different parties, which have now grown to five, each maintaining tenets and practices of its own, while all claim to be distinctively Lutheran. Different tendencies came over from the mother church. Some of the emigrants were adherents of the reformer Hauge, marked by great simplicity and earnestness. Others came here in full sympathy with the State Church. These were opposed to the pietists, of a more churchly turn, zealous for the faith, and devoted to the usages of the home Church, a full liturgy, clerical vestments, etc. Their ministers came generally from the Universities. Another element was mediate between these.

These diversities became here more fully developed, and violent controversies broke out. Yet the organization of different Synods had not been possible had not questions and differences of a graver nature arisen. The pietistic and orthodox tendencies might have been united in their work and in brotherly love had not important doctrinal issues come to the front.

The first trouble of this kind "arose with the first two ministers who advocated the doctrines of Grundtvig." So radical a departure from the Lutheran doctrine rendered co-operation in work impossible. The breach already existing was greatly widened.

Another conflict turned on the activity of laymen, whether they should have the right of prayer and exhortation in public assemblies. Those of the Hauge Synod had always recognized this right as inherent in

the universal priesthood. The rigidly orthodox would suppress all such activity. Another question was that of the Sabbath, the one party following the sixteenth century theologians, the other those of the seventeenth century, especially Spener. Many other important questions have created dissension and caused still wider separation: Absolution, "the world's Justification," and lastly Predestination, which has now rent the "Norwegian Synod," a body which "has always been uncompromisingly 'Missourian,'" the majority of its pastors being trained at St. Louis, and which has been eminently successful in educational work and in winning the masses.

These separations have not arisen from different interpretations of the Confessions—all accept these with one accord. All are firm Lutherans. The present divisions are: Hauge Synod, organized 1850, 43 ministers, 126 congregations, 9,222 communicants; "Norwegian," organized 1853, 174 ministers, 610 congregations, 60,684 communicants; Augustana, organized in 1860, 32 ministers, 80 congregations, 5,000 communicants; Conference, organized 1870, 101 ministers, 436 congregations, 33,165 communicants; Anti-Missourian, organized 1887, 110 ministers, 400 congregations, and 35,000 communicants. The latter have not effected a Synodical organization, but hold annual meetings and have their own college, seminary, and weekly.

In the midst of the warfare long raging, there have always been in all the Synods those inclined to peace, who have bewailed these divisions and have longed and labored and prayed for a better understanding, for brotherly love and for a union of the whole Nor-

wegian Church. Efforts to this effect have been made from the beginning. The work of union dates back to the work of separation. Conferences for this purpose were held in 1859, in 1863 and in 1864.

For years no further attempt to bring the different parties together was witnessed until in 1881 when they all met for conference in St. Ansgar, Iowa. The situation had become considerably changed. Twenty years of conflict had modified the minds of many. All were now disposed to see how nearly they agreed rather than as before to find how greatly they differed. The results of the meeting were encouraging beyond what had been anticipated. Other conferences which have been held annually since have been equally promotive of peace.

The gr̄atest impetus was given to the union movement in 1888, when a committee of seven, clerical and lay, from each of the Synods, except the "Norwegian," met in Eau Claire, Wis., for the purpose of devising a plan of consolidation. The result far exceeded the the peoples' expectation. A settlement of the old controversies was effected and a draft for a new constitution and articles of agreement were drawn up.

A meeting of representatives from the congregations for the consideration of this plan was held in November 1888, at Scandinavia, Wis. The whole plan with but few alterations was unanimously adopted. This plan, which has since been unanimously adopted by three bodies at their annual meetings, now goes to the congregations, and will come up for final action at the next meeting of each of the Synods, which are to convene at the same time in

Minneapolis. If approval carries they can at once unite and form the new Synod and organize their Seminary with five professors as already agreed upon.

All essential matters having been settled, these three bodies now look forward confidently to a union. The fourth, Hauge's Synod, is hesitating. Still there is hope that when the Synods come together in 1890, the United Synod will embrace this body also.

The "Norwegian Synod" has kept entirely aloof from this movement, yet the hope is cherished that in due time this body will also be one with the others so that ultimately one United Synod shall be formed from the five now existing.

DANISH SYNODS.

A society for missionary work in America was founded in Odense, Denmark, October 1869. Several ministers had previously come to this country and three more were now sent over by this association. These united in 1872 in a Synodical body, known as "The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church in America." Although passing through the usual trials and conflicts, this body has made such progress that it now numbers 44 ministers and more than 4,000 communicants. It supports a Theological Seminary at West Denmark, Wis., four High Schools, an Orphan Home; an Emigrant House and a Sailors' Mission. In foreign missionary work, for which it has furnished a missionary and his wife, it co-operates both with the General Council in the Telegu field and with the Church of Denmark among the Tamuls and Sandthals.

"The Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church Associa-

tion" was organized in 1884 by some Danish ministers who in a fraternal spirit withdrew from the Norwegian-Danish Conference. It has now 16 ministers, maintains a Theological Seminary at Blair, Neb., with two Professors, and has sent a missionary to Utah. It seems very desirable that these two Danish bodies should unite, and those unacquainted with their difficulties may see no reason for their separation, but as Rationalism and the teachings of Grundtvig have caused great disturbances in the Church of Denmark, sufficient time must necessarily elapse for all parties in this country to purge themselves from these errors, before the Danish Lutherans can harmoniously and effectively co-operate.

A vigorous Icelandic Association was organized in 1885 with 4 pastors and about 4,000 communicants. It reports now 22 congregations.

THE SYNOD OF BUFFALO.

THIS body held its first meeting at Milwaukee, Wis., June, 1845, four ministers and eighteen laymen being in attendance. The leading spirit was Rev. J. A. A. Grabau, who came to this country in 1839 and established a theological school at Buffalo. In its somewhat hierarchical view of the ministry it came into conflict with the Missouri Synod. A colloquium with representatives from that body was held in 1866 and as a consequence a number of the ministers and congregations passed over into its bounds. Another section withdrew about the same time, and after maintaining for a while a separate organization its members became absorbed in different synods. The original

synod consists now of twenty-one ministers, thirty-five congregations, and five thousand communicants.

THE MICHIGAN SYNOD.

Which assisted in the organization of the General Council, withdrew in 1888 on account of dissatisfaction with the latter's position on pulpit and altar fellowship. It embraces about forty ministers, fifty-five congregations, and ten thousand communicants.

CHAPTER XII.

THE MISSOURIANS.

TOWARD the close of the third decade of the present century, those days of rationalistic rule, there was at the University of Leipzig a small circle of students whom their academic fellow-citizens termed Mystics or Pietists, or Hypocrites and Obscurants. They would spend the hours which others devoted to the loud pleasures of the beer mug, in the seclusion of some quiet room, where they might have been found closeted with some obscure volume, the writings of Arndt, Francke, Spener, Rambach, Fresenius, or some other theologian of like character. A theological candidate of riper years and spiritual experience, named Kuehn, was the leader of this little band, and the path he endeavored to point out to his associates was a *via dolorosa* through dark depths of anguish and contrition, a series of experiences like those through which he had passed before he found peace and rest in Christ Jesus.

In the fall of 1829 this circle welcomed a young man of eighteen years, the son of a clergyman in Saxony, a youth with a good classical education, who had until recently "felt himself born for music only." When his father declared that he would set him adrift without a farthing if he should "turn musician," but promised him a thaler a week if he would study theology, the son set his face toward Leipzig and theology,



REV. C. F. W. WALTHER, D. D.

and there we find him, young in years, slender of stature, in delicate health, shifting as best he could with his thaler a week, but turning to every advantage his talents and opportunities.

The young student was Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther. An elder brother introduced the youth to that circle of Pietists mentioned above. Soon the younger Walther was far gone in the direction in which the influence of Kuehn and others was exerted, his soul was filled with anguish under the pangs of a troubled conscience; sighs and sobs and tears gave evidence of the storm that raged in his bosom and threatened to engulf every hope and to shut out every ray of consoling light which had dawned in his soul. While he was struggling with despair God used the gentle hand of a woman to draw him from the precipice. The wife of a revenue officer at Leipzig, whose home had been opened to him, perceived the trouble of the pious youth, and from her lips came words of comfort drawn from the Gospel, and from her heart rose many a fervent prayer to a throne of grace that the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, might be granted to that troubled soul.

God in his wise providence led young Walther to seek spiritual advice and consolation also from another, from a man who was in future years to be instrumental in leading him across the ocean. Martin Stephan was the pastor of a Bohemian congregation which worshiped in St. John's Church at Dresden, a preacher who had for years proclaimed to vast multitudes that flocked to that unostentatious church in the suburbs, what was then very rarely heard from

German pulpits, Christ and him crucified. Stephan was renowned as a spiritual adviser who had profound knowledge of the human heart and was ever ready to minister what each individual soul required. This man one day received a letter from a stranger, a student at Leipzig, who disclosed to him his innermost soul and solicited an answer. When the answer came, Walther held the letter in his hands, and before he broke the seal prayed to God to keep him from accepting vain counsels and consolations. But after he had read Stephan's letter, he was like one who had been lifted from hell into paradise, and his tears of anguish were changed into tears of joy.

A year and another year passed away, and then young Walther's days seemed nearly numbered; pulmonary disease forced him to relinquish his studies and seek rest and relief at home. During these weary months he found in his father's library the works of Luther, and here he laid the foundation of the intimate acquaintance with the writings of the great Reformer which distinguished him in later years. In the spring of 1832 he returned to the university, improved in health, but without hope of ever becoming physically able to work in the ministry. He completed his studies, passed his first examination, and was then a private tutor from 1834 to 1836. In 1837 he was ordained to the ministry in the village church of Braeunsdorf in Saxony, amidst a congregation which for forty years and more had not heard the Gospel of Christ and had sunk deep in intellectual, moral and religious depravity. The form of public service, the hymn-book, the school-books, were, like the school

teacher and the superintendent, steeped in Rationalism, and when Walther, true to his vow and to the Symbols of the Lutheran Church which he had sworn to follow and maintain, endeavored to work a change toward sound Lutheranism, stumbling blocks without number were thrown in his way, until his troubled conscience was beset on every side.

Walther was not the only Lutheran in Saxony who suffered under the rod of a rationalistic and unionistic regime, and when in those days Stephan was looking toward the United States of America as an asylum of true Lutheranism, to which his attention had been directed by Dr. Benjamin Kurtz of Baltimore, and finally came forth with a definite plan of emigration, Walther with others caught up the signal. In September 1838, as many as 707 persons had entered their names upon the rolls; ministers, school-teachers, lawyers, physicians, artists, gave up their positions, married men and women left their husbands and wives, parents their children, children their parents; a part of their joint possessions was turned over to a common treasury; four ships were chartered and a fifth, the *Amalia*, was also occupied mostly by members of the company. All of these ships left Bremerhafen in November 1838. The *Copernicus* arrived at New Orleans on the last day of the same year, three others in January 1839; the *Amalia* was lost with all on board.

The passengers continued their pilgrimage to St. Louis, then a city of about 16,000 inhabitants. Stephan had prevailed upon his followers to make him their bishop and to sign a document in which

they pledged themselves to allegiance and obedience. He surrounded himself with every kind of luxury, and during the few months of his rule he drew from the common treasury more than 4,000 thalers for his own sustenance and comfort. To secure a still more unlimited exercise of his power, he aimed at isolating the community under his sway. A tract of land was purchased in Perry county, Mo., and here the emigrants amid untold hardships began to build up a number of Saxon colonies. A small flock remained in St. Louis and chose the elder Walther for their pastor.

Stephan, who had also repaired to Perry county, ruled like a Pasha. A magnificent episcopal palace was in process of construction. Then came a revelation which fell like a thunderbolt among the colonists. One dark night the younger Walther arrived from St. Louis. To a young theological candidate he confided his secret. It was in one of the dormitories for the colonists and, though all seemed fast asleep, the conversation was carried on in Latin, and a physician lying on the straw not far away heard, what he and others had suspected before, that Stephan had been leading a life of shameful immorality and had now been found out through the confessions of several of his victims. Soon after, a number of the emigrants who had remained at St. Louis arrived, a formal council was held and Stephan was solemnly deposed from his office. Provided with ample means, he was taken across the Mississippi river in a skiff and landed near Devil's Bake-oven, a grotesque rock at the water's edge. He died in 1846 in a log cabin a few miles from Red Bud, Illinois.

The colonists were at first stunned and bewildered. Such had been Stephan's extravagance and mismanagement that the funds of the emigrants were far spent, and abject poverty stared them in the face. The ministers and candidates were troubled by the question whether the colonists constituted Christian congregations with authority to call ministers, and many of the laymen also entertained doubts concerning the right of the ministers to hold their office here after having left their charges beyond the sea. Walther, too, was for a time tossed about by doubts and fears. But better counsels prevailed, and soon things gained a more favorable aspect. In the midst of all their hardships and poverty, the candidates Fuerbringer, Brohm and Buenger, with the aid of the ministers, Walther, Loeber and Keyl, had organized a school of learning in which Religion, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, French and English, History, Geography, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Natural History, Mental Philosophy and Music were to be taught. In a log cabin the school was opened which has since developed into two distinct institutions, Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, Mo., and Concordia College at Fort Wayne, Ind., both of which are flourishing to-day and have educated hundreds of young men for the ministry in the Lutheran Church. The first faculty consisted of Ottomar Fuerbringer, Th. Jul. Brohm and Joh. Fr. Buenger, and the log cabin has been preserved to this day.

The younger Walther was soon the acknowledged leader. Stephan had never been quite at ease on Walther's account, and had even stigmatized him as

his Judas, and it was Walther who now fought down the doctrinal errors which that hierarch had taught, that the Lutheran Church was *the* Church, without which there was no salvation, that the ministry was a mediatorship between God and man, and entitled to unconditional obedience in all things not in conflict with the word of God, that questions of doctrine were to be decided by the clergy alone, in whose hands also



OLD CONCORDIA SEMINARY, ALTENBURG, PERRY CO., MO.

rested the power of the Keys. With convincing clearness Walther set forth the truth until it held the field victorious, and at a later day, the weapons tried and found true against Stephanism were again drawn and wielded with like success in other encounters.

In January, 1841, the elder Walther was called to his rest, and his brother was chosen to succeed him as pastor of the "Saxons" at St. Louis, who were then

still worshipping in the basement of an Episcopal church. Both the congregation and the parochial school increased rapidly, and in 1842 Trinity church was erected, with a basement for school-rooms. In 1844 Cand. Buenger, who since 1841 had been in charge of the school, became Walther's assistant. In the same year a branch school was opened in another part of the city, and this school was the germ of Immanuel's church, which was organized in 1847 and erected a house of worship in 1848, where henceforth to the end of his days Buenger officiated as pastor. While the trowel had thus been busy, the sword had not rusted in the scabbard. Separatistic elements had caused much trouble in the congregation.

Another conflict of greater dimensions and of longer duration had sprung up. In 1839 a band of German Lutheran emigrants had come over under the leadership of Pastor Grabau, who had suffered persecution and imprisonment in Prussia for his refusal to submit to the unionistic policy of the government. At Buffalo, where he had settled with most of his followers, Grabau in 1840 issued a "Pastoral Letter," of which he sent a copy to the Saxon ministers in Missouri with a request for their opinion. The request was granted, but the "opinion" was not satisfactory to Grabau. In his "Pastoral Letter" and the correspondence to which it gave rise, Grabau maintained that a minister not called in accordance with the ancient "Kirchenordnungen" was not properly called; that ordination by other clergymen was by divine ordinance essential to the validity of the ministerial office; that God would deal with us only through the minis-

terial office; that a minister arbitrarily elevated by the congregation was unable to pronounce absolution, and what he distributed at the altar was not the body and blood of Christ, but mere bread and wine; that through her Symbols and Constitutions and Synods the Church at large must decide what is in accordance or at variance with the word of God; that the congregation is not the supreme tribunal in the Church, but the synod as representing the Church at large; that the congregation is not authorized to pronounce excommunication; that Christians are bound to obey their minister in all things not contrary to the word of God. In all of these points the Saxons differed from Grabau,—denying what he affirmed, and affirming what he denied. He now drew up a list of seventeen charges of error against them and declared that he could no longer consider them orthodox Lutheran ministers. Thus the controversy carried on afterwards between the Synods of Buffalo and Missouri had sprung up years before either body had an existence.

The doctrines which the Saxons maintained against Grabau and his followers were not only taught but practiced in Perry county and St. Louis; the congregations not only claimed but exercised what by divine right a Christian congregation should claim and practice, instead of leaving it to the ministry. Church discipline was exercised in accordance with Matthew xviii; doctrinal matters were discussed; the college at Altenburg was formally adopted and considerably treated as the foster-child of the congregations.

In 1844, the congregation at St. Louis resolved on the publication of a religious periodical which had

been planned by Walther, and in September of that year the "Lutheraner" made its first appearance. To secure the publication of this and the following numbers, many members had subscribed for two copies, and the congregation had agreed that if the expenses should exceed the receipts, the deficit should be covered from the common treasury or by free contributions. From its beginning the "Lutheraner" gave forth a clear, decided, uncompromising ring, and the type of Lutheranism which it advocated was to the generation of those days a strange phenomenon, so strange that by many it was not even recognized as Lutheranism at all, and chiefly for this reason Walther made it his object to show from the writings of the Fathers of the Lutheran Church, that he was not promulgating new tenets, but the doctrines laid down in the Confessions and in the writings of the best teachers of the Lutheran Church. This, not an undue reverence of the Fathers, prompted Walther to introduce into his doctrinal expositions numerous extracts from the works of those earlier theologians; not as authorities but as witnesses he called them forth from the dust of oblivion, and before many years Germany was being ransacked for those old parchment-bound volumes, and dealers wondered what people wanted with those mummies in the American backwoods, whence came the growing demand for what had long lain unnoticed as unmarketable dross.

Among the few who hailed with joy the first number of the "Lutheraner" was another pioneer of western Lutheranism, a man whose name will be pronounced with reverence as long as a Lutheran Church

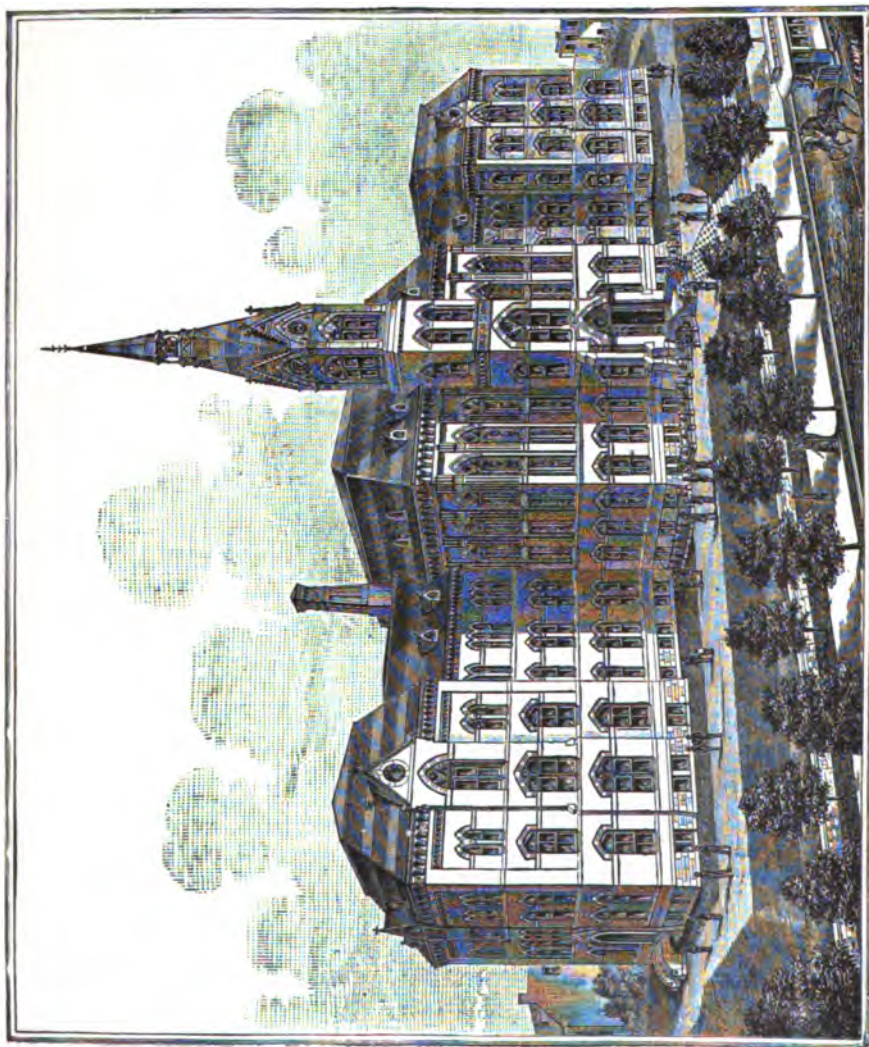
remains in America. Friedrich Conrad Dietrich Wyneken landed at Baltimore about half a year before the Saxons trod the banks of the Mississippi. He was a man of powerful frame and a well educated mind, fiery and energetic, filled with a burning zeal to carry the Gospel of Christ to his countrymen in the western solitudes, of whose wants he had learned through missionary magazines in the old world. He was recommended by Rev. Haesbaert to the missionary committee of the Synod of Pennsylvania, and soon the young missionary is laboring amid hardships and privations in Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan, traversing the forests and prairies on foot and on horseback, in fair and foul weather, by day and by night, and sowing the seeds of life in a spiritual wilderness.

Fort Wayne was then a small country town. The first German and at the same time the first Lutheran who had settled here was Henry Rudisill, who with his wife, a daughter of the Henkel family, had arrived in this community of Frenchmen and Indians in 1829. A Lutheran he would remain, and by his endeavors a current of German immigration was led to Fort Wayne and vicinity. In 1837 a congregation was organized with Rev. Jesse Hoover, a member of the Pennsylvania Synod, as its pastor. But when in the fall of 1838 Wyneken first set foot into the town, young pastor Hoover had been laid to rest. At the urgent request of the congregation Wyneken established his headquarters there. The Lutherans had neither church nor parsonage; they worshiped in the court-house until the building threatened to fall, then here and there, until the little frame church erected in 1839

afforded them shelter. From Fort Wayne Wyneken extended his missionary excursions, until a painful disease of the throat interrupted his labors. In 1841 he went to Germany for treatment. As soon as his health was sufficiently restored, he started out to agitate the cause of the church in America; by personal solicitations he engaged the sympathies of a number of prominent men, and by public addresses as well as through a brilliant pamphlet he inspired into thousands of hearts a feeling of responsibility for the brethren in the New World.

When Wyneken returned in 1843, he had ripened into a man of mature powers and of confirmed Lutheran convictions. It was in those days that the first number of the "Lutheraner" appeared, and when Wyneken had perused it, he joyfully exclaimed: "Thank God! There are more Lutherans in America!" Soon Wyneken and the "Lutheraner" were companions in arms, both being violently assailed by the Methodists, the "Lutheraner" for its articles, Wyneken for his portraiture of Methodism which had been reprinted in America.

Great joy was also awakened by the first number of the "Lutheraner," at Pomeroy, Ohio, where Dr. Sihler was then stationed, one of the men whom Wyneken had drawn westward. He was a member of the Synod of Ohio, and was endeavoring in various ways to exert his influence against certain features of doctrine and practice which claimed his attention. One day, early in 1845, while Sihler was instructing catechumens, a horseman alighted at his door, and a moment later Wyneken introduced himself. He was



CONCORDIA SEMINARY, ST. LOUIS, MO.

on his way to Baltimore, to succeed his friend Haesbaert, and he stopped to behold the face of the man who was to be his successor at Fort Wayne.

Soon after the Doctor's arrival at this place, where he was to serve the Master for forty years, another fruit of Wyneken's sojourn in Germany was planted in American soil and entrusted to the care of Wyneken's successor in the pastorate of St. Paul's.

Among the men whom Wyneken had won to the American cause was Wilhelm Loehe of Neuendetelsau. Loehe had not only gathered about him a number of young men whom he gave a practical preparation for the ministry in America, but he also conceived and executed the plan of opening a seminary for the same purpose in the New World. For its site he selected Fort Wayne, and in 1846 he sent over eleven young men together with a talented candidate of theology by the name of Roebbelen, who with Dr. Sihler was to give these young men and others who might be recruited in America, a training which would in a few years fit them for missionary and pastoral work among the Germans in this country. This was the beginning of the "Practical Seminary" which was at a latter date combined with the "Theoretical Seminary" at St. Louis and, still later, transplanted to Springfield, Ill., where it is flourishing to-day.

The work of those early days with the ways and means employed by the pioneers, is on a more extended scale and in a wider field going on to-day in the Synod of Missouri. Still the voices of preachers are heard in the wilderness; traveling missionaries are traversing the forests and prairies and towns of

the North, South, East, and West; congregations are gathered, and where the Word is being preached to the old, schools are opened for the young; small churches are built at first, which, in time, give place to larger ones, and, when the means of the congregation permit, a school-master is called to the minister's side, both ministers and teachers coming from the colleges and seminaries, (a teachers' seminary is sustained by the Synod at Addison, Ill.,) the humble beginnings of which we have witnessed. Purity and unity of doctrine are still being guarded and propagated and defended, while brotherly fellowship with others who hold the same ground in doctrine and practice is still sought and cherished, as it was sought and cherished by Walther and Wyneken and their brethren in the "colonial" period.

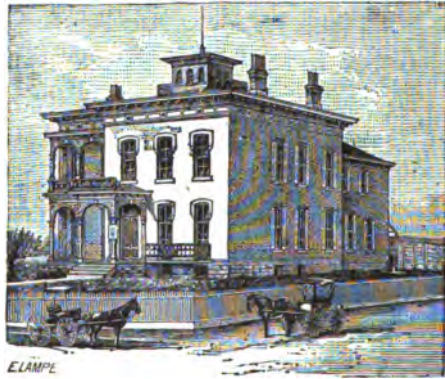
In the spring of 1846, Dr. Sihler and two other ministers had a conference with Walther and other Saxon ministers at St. Louis. Sihler had severed his connection with the Synod of Ohio. Wyneken had given strength to the movement at a conference held at Cleveland in 1845. The formation of a synod was now taken into consideration by the congregation at St. Louis and the clergymen there assembled. In nine meetings the draft of a constitution, in which every vestige of hierarchical leaven had been most carefully avoided, was discussed. A similar conference was held in July of the same year at Fort Wayne. Sixteen ministers were present. Six others had signified their full sympathy. The constitution with a few modifications being approved, it was resolved to complete the formal organization at Chicago in April

1847. There the "German Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and other States" was formed by twelve congregations, twenty-two ministers and two candidates. Under the constitution which was adopted and signed at this meeting and, with a few alterations, is in force to-day, only those ministers whose congregations had entered into membership with the Synod, and the lay delegates by whom congregations were represented, were entitled to suffrage, other ministers being only advisory members. The "Lutheraner" was made the official organ of the Synod with Walther as editor. A missionary committee was chosen, and various other measures gave evidence of the earnestness with which the assembly entered upon the task of building up Zion in the land of their pilgrimage.

Here, then, was a Lutheran synod which declared in its constitution that the acceptance of all the Symbols of the Lutheran Church without exception or reserve, abstinence from every kind of syncretism, from mixed congregations and mixed services and communions, a permanent, not temporary or licensed, ministry, the use of purely Lutheran books in churches and schools, should be and remain conditions of membership with this body, but which, on the other hand, claimed no authority over the congregations connected with it, thus leaving intact the freedom of the churches.

At Chicago a resolution was passed to invite pastor Loehe to attend the meeting of the coming year, which was to be held at St. Louis. Loehe did not come, but letters arrived which announced that another wish had been fulfilled; Loehe had made

over to the Synod the Seminary at Fort Wayne. The cordial friendship between him and Missouri continued for several years. But doctrinal difficulties arose. In a pamphlet which Loehe published in 1849 he spoke of the ministerial office in terms very much like those of Grabau. About the same time letters to Loehe from America presented the Missourians in an unfavorable light, and he soon entertained thoughts of gaining a new basis for his operations in America. Several Franconian colonies had been planted in the Saginaw valley under his guidance, and in 1850 he matured a plan for erecting a "Pilgerhaus" at Saginaw, a peculiar combination of a temporary home for colonists, a hospital, a theological seminary, all united in a little common-



EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN HOSPITAL, ST. LOUIS, MO.

wealth which was to be regulated by a liturgical rule that would give it the character of "a kind of protestant cloister." For its management and the leadership of the work to be centered there, Loehe had singled out a talented young theologian, Gottlieb Schaller, who after completing his theological studies at the University of Erlangen had gained renown as a teacher and preacher. Loehe had in 1848 directed him to America, and although he had in 1849 joined the Missouri Synod, Loehe still hoped to see his

Timothy in the position which he now held out to him. But at the Synod in 1850, Schaller was, after a warm and protracted discussion, fully convinced of Loehe's errors, and afterwards he labored for many years by Walther's side as minister of Trinity church and Professor of Theology in the Seminary at St. Louis, where they were both laid to rest in 1887.

The "Pilgerhaus," was opened in 1852. It was afterwards removed to Iowa, and with it went Loehe's heart, who thus virtually became the founder of the Iowa Synod.

The Synod had spared no endeavors to prevent the impending rupture between Missouri and the man who had done so much for the Lutheran Church in the West. In 1851 the matter was laid before the Synod convened at Milwaukee, and so important did the continuation of friendship and fraternal co-operation with Loehe appear to the Missourians, that a delegation was sent to Germany on a mission of peace. One of the delegates was Walther, then Professor of Theology and President of Concordia College. The other delegate was Wyneken, one of Loehe's dearest friends and a man eminently fitted for this task. But though many difficulties were overcome, a complete understanding was not reached by the interviews between Loehe and the American delegates; the kind feelings which were renewed were but of brief duration; and the new synod which grew up under the influence of Neuendettelsau shared Loehe's doctrinal positions and his antagonism to Missouri.

Among the points at issue between the Synods of

Iowa and Missouri, were the doctrines of the Church, Missouri holding that the Church of Christ is invisible, while Iowa recognized a visible and an invisible side; "open questions," with which Iowa classed the doctrines of the Church, the Ministry, Chiliasm, Antichrist, while Missouri maintained that these doctrines are clearly set forth in Scriptures and therefore are in no sense open questions; Antichrist, of whom Missouri affirmed that he is the Roman pontiff while Iowa held that the Antichrist in the strictest sense of the word is an individual person yet to be expected; Chiliasm, which Missouri rejected in its subtle as well as in its crass forms, while Iowa held that not every form of Chiliasm must be rejected; the question to what extent subscription to the symbols of the Church enjoins the acceptance of the doctrines laid down in such symbols, Missouri holding that one who subscribes the symbols unconditionally thereby declares acceptance of all the doctrines laid down in them, while Iowa claimed that to be of binding force a doctrine must be stated in the symbols *ex professo*, not only occasionally, and that, therefore, a distinction must be made between the doctrines contained in the Symbolical Books. These points were discussed in a colloquy by representatives of both synods who met at Milwaukee in 1867, but no satisfactory result was reached.

A similar "colloquium" had, in 1866, been brought about between representatives of the Buffalo Synod and that of Missouri. Grabau had branded Walther and his followers as heretics. Walther had, in 1852, published his book on "the Church and the Ministerial Office," which had previously been approved by

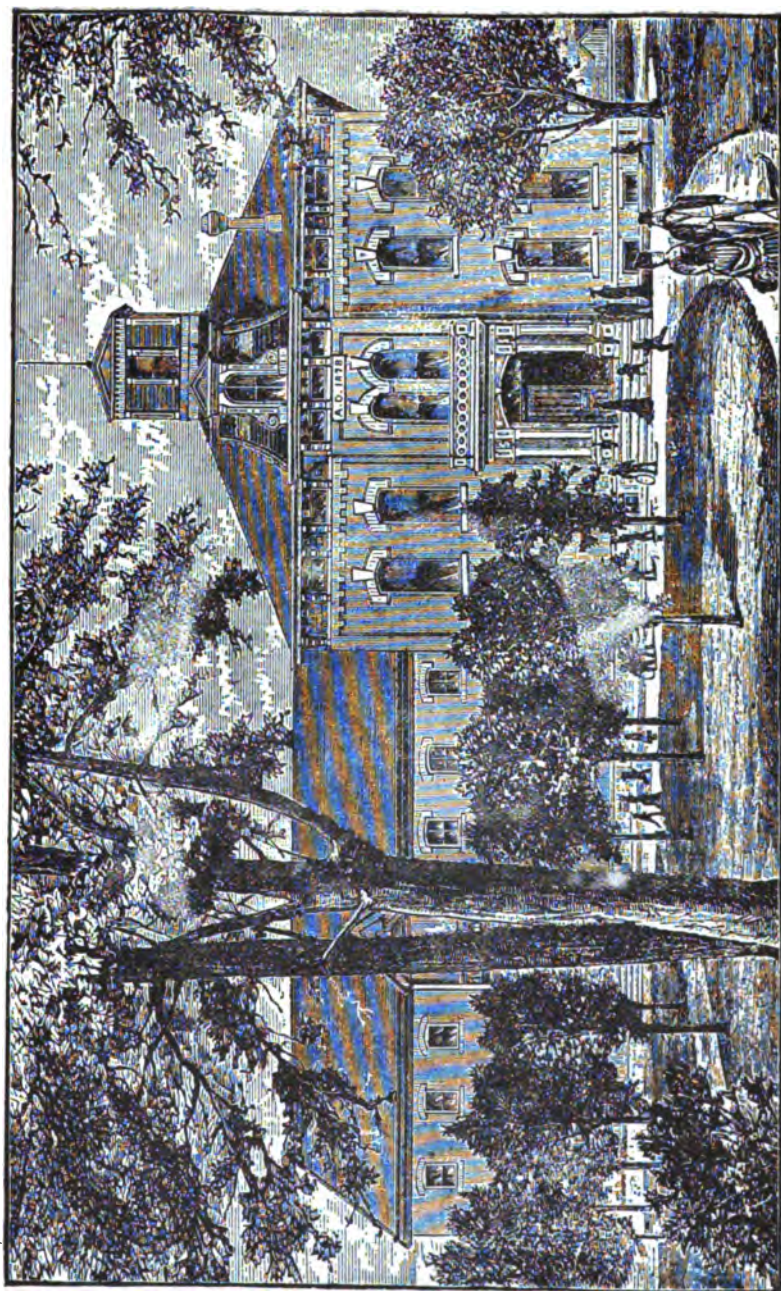
the Synod. In this book Walther showed by numerous extracts from the Symbols of the Lutheran Church and from the writings of her orthodox teachers, what former centuries had voiced forth as the Lutheran doctrine on these subjects. Now, shortly after Grabau had left his own synod, three ministers and as many laymen of each synod met at Buffalo, and when in February, 1867, twelve ministers of the Buffalo Synod were assembled at Buffalo with five Missourians, a formal recognition of fraternal unity was sealed and the near future saw eleven of them members of the Synod of Missouri.

In 1872 the Synod celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. The meetings were held in Mercantile Library Hall at St. Louis, and here it appeared to all eyes that conventions of all the ministers and school teachers and of lay delegates from all the congregations were no longer practicable. The Synod then numbered four hundred and twenty-eight ministers and two hundred and fifty-one school teachers, and the numbers were fast increasing. It was therefore decided that thenceforth from two to seven congregations should delegate one minister and one layman to the triennial meetings of the general body, which had years ago been divided into four district synods.

At this jubilee meeting there was also discussed the draft of the constitution of the Synodical Conference, a union of Lutheran Synods which was soon after, in July, 1872, completed at Milwaukee. The synods which were represented at the first meeting were those of Ohio, Missouri, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, and the Norwegian Synod, which had previously by collo-

quiums between representatives convinced themselves of each other's orthodoxy. The Synod of Illinois was afterwards merged into that of Missouri. For a number of years, the synods worked together in harmony of faith, until the great "predestinarian controversy" led to a rupture which has not yet been healed.

This controversy did not come unforeseen. On the floor of the Synod in 1872 a hard struggle had been predicted, and when the new decade was ushered in the struggle had begun. It was Prof. Schmidt who first within the Synodical Conference raised his voice in public against the doctrine of predestination as set forth in the reports of 1877 and 1879 of the Western District of the Missouri Synod. He directed his attack especially against the position held by Walther and the Synod, that God's predestination is a cause of our salvation and of everything thereto pertaining; faith and perseverance in faith not excepted, that in the decree of predestination the faith of the elect was not presupposed, but included. The contest soon waxed very hot. Walther and the Missourians were desirous of bringing about an understanding, and in January 1881, the theological Faculties and the Presidents of synods and district synods in the Synodical Conference responded to a call for a colloquium at Milwaukee. When five days of earnest debate had brought the dissenting parties no nearer to each other, and the representatives of Ohio could remain no longer, the colloquy was closed. As the controversy proceeded, the doctrine of conversion came to the foreground. Missouri maintained that conversion is the work of divine grace alone, wrought



GERMAN EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN ORPHAN ASYLUM, ADDISON, ILL.

through the means of grace, which, though they come with equal power and earnestness to all, do not attain the same results in all; but that this mystery must not be explained away by denying with Calvin the earnest will of God to convert all, nor by denying the utter depravity which incapacitates all alike to concur in their own conversion; that the conversion of sinners rests in God's grace alone, and they can in no way or measure be credited with their own conversion; that the non-conversion of sinners rests in their own hardness of heart alone, and God is in no wise the cause of their non-conversion. The other side held that the effect wrought by the grace of God in the work of conversion depended in a measure on man's conduct toward the means of grace, which Missouri rejects as synergistic, while Ohio denounces Missouri's position as Calvinistic.

The controversy led to the separation of Ohio and the Norwegians from the Conference the latter severing their connection in the hope of meeting with less difficulty in overcoming the commotion which this controversy had created within their own Synod.

Great inward profit accrued to the Synod of Missouri and the synods still connected with it in the Synodical Conference from this controversy. Hundreds and thousands of its members were led to a deeper and clearer understanding of the truths at issue, and a habit of careful and extended research in the Scriptures and the Symbols was deepened and strengthened in many, both ministers and laymen.

Nor was the outward progress of the Synod stayed by the great controversy. From 1878 to 1888 the

Synod well nigh doubled the number of its ministers. The Joint Synod at present consists of thirteen District Synods, which embrace the entire Union. The number of ministers, according to the statistics of 1888, is 1030, the number of school teachers 617, that of congregations, not including unorganized missions, 1,480, that of communicant members, at a low estimate, 279,150. The missions of the Synod are the Home Missions carried on among the Germans in this country by the District Synods, Emigrant Missions in New York and Baltimore, Missions among the Jews, English Missions, and conjointly with other synods of the Synodical Conference, a Negro Mission. The higher institutions of learning for the education of ministers and school teachers are, besides those mentioned in the narrative and still in operation, a college at Milwaukee, Wis., a preparatory collegiate institute at Concordia, Mo., and another in New York. In these schools upward of 1000 students were in 1889 instructed by 40 professors. Of benevolent institutions, there are within the Synod an institute for the deaf and dumb at Norris, Mich., eleven asylums for orphans and invalids, and several hospitals. The periodicals of the Synod are "Der Lutheraner," "Lehre und Wehre," "Homiletical Magazine," and "Schulblatt"; of the Synodical Conference, the "Missions-taube" and the "Lutheran Pioneer;" besides, eight religious periodicals published by conferences, societies, or individuals. The Synod publishes its own hymn-books, school-books, Bibles, prayer-books, etc., all of which with the periodicals and a voluminous theological literature contained in the synodical reports

and other publications in the form of books and pamphlets, issue from the Synod's Concordia Publishing House, the total receipts of which in 1888 were over \$152,357.

Of the patriarchs of the Missouri Synod but few remain. Wyneken was President of the Joint Synod from 1850 to 1864, when Walther was again elected to this office. In 1876 Wyneken, after a protracted illness, fell peacefully asleep in Jesus at San Francisco, Cal. Walther was considerably relieved of the presi-



CONCORDIA PUBLISHING HOUSE, ST. LOUIS, MO.

dency in 1878; yet the eve of his life was a time of vigorous activity in the service of the Master. He wrote copiously for the press; he presented theses at synodical meetings, at which he was eminently the theological teacher; he was regular in his lectures to the students of the seminary. When at the meeting of the Western District in 1886 he had completed a series of eloquent theological discussions, each of which had lasted several hours, he closed with tears and in faltering accents; he felt that his work was

done. His physical energies were fast failing, and the Synod unanimously resolved that he should rest.

Time passed on, and the venerable Doctor was slowly but steadily sinking, and while the Joint Synod was in session at Fort Wayne, on the 7th of May, 1887, the Lord called His weary servant to his eternal rest. Thousands from the Missouri and sister synods, who had come from all parts of the country, formed the greatest funeral procession St. Louis has witnessed, as they followed the precious dust of this great man in Israel to its last repose.

Of the other members of the Synodical Conference the Synod of Wisconsin numbers 140 ministers, and 50 teachers of parish schools. It has a prosperous college at Watertown, Wis., and a Theological Seminary at Milwaukee, and embraces about 70,000 communicants. Its official publications are the "Gemeinde Blatt," and "Schulzeitung." The Synod of Minnesota comprises 51 ministers, 18 teachers and 12,000 communicants, has a college and theological seminary combined at New Ulm, Minn., and publishes the "Synodal-Bote."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

IT would be an error to suppose that the spirit of disintegration was back of the internal differences and external circumstances which led to the disruption of the General Synod in 1866. On the contrary the spirit of unification, "a hearty desire for the unity of Zion," exerted undoubtedly a powerful influence in determining this result.

The time seemed ripe for a general organization of the Lutheran Church, national in its scope and comprehending all the numerous Lutheran bodies, American and foreign, that receive unequivocally the Augsburg Confession. Several of the largest synods had just separated from the General Synod. The Southern Synods, after the dissolution of the Confederacy, were ready, it was hoped, to enter again into organic fellowship with the Northern churches, and they might for various reasons prefer to ally themselves to a new body rather than rejoin the old one. The recognized leaders of the Pennsylvania, New York and Pittsburg Synods had, by the course which they pursued, reached a good understanding with the representatives of the Joint-Ohio, Iowa and Tennessee Synods. Even Dr. Walther of the Missouri Synod expressed his great joy over the action of the Pennsylvania Synod in withdrawing from the General Synod—a step which he held "will undoubtedly be connected with consequen-



REV. C. P. KRAUTH, D. D., LL. D.

ces not only of the utmost importance, but also of the most salutary character." The administration of the Lord's Supper to a number of the Pennsylvania Synod's delegates by the pastor of a Missouri Church at Fort Wayne, during the memorable convention of 1866, was regarded as significant. The co-operation of the large Scandinavian element might also be confidently anticipated. It was an inspiring prospect, a consummation devoutly to be wished, the union of the various powerful bodies which vied with each other in emphasizing the historic faith of the Lutheran Church. Then, too, synods still incorporated with the General Synod gave a clear recognition to the Augustana, and embraced men who were profoundly convinced that the duty, the wisdom and the glory of the Lutheran Church in this country, require the retention of those distinctive features in doctrine and cultus which have ever been her life's blood and breath.

Accordingly at the one hundred and nineteenth convention of the Pennsylvania Ministerium, 1866, a fraternal address was issued "to Evangelical Lutheran Synods, ministers and congregations in the United States and Canadas, which confess the Unaltered Augsburg Confession, inviting them to unite in a convention for the purpose of forming a union of Lutheran Synods."

This call urged "the needs of a general organization, first and supremely for the maintenance of unity in the true faith of the Gospel, and in the uncorrupted Sacraments, as the Word of God teaches and our Church confesses them; and furthermore for the preservation of her genuine spirit and worship, and for

the development of her practical life in all its forms."

"A great necessity is therefore laid upon us, in the Providence of God, at once to take steps to meet a want, which has been so urgent, and the painful consciousness of which continually grows." "The condition and wants of our Church in this land, make it clear that we are not moving in this matter on insufficient or doubtful grounds. With our communion of millions scattered over a vast and ever-widening territory, with the ceaseless tide of immigration to our shores, with the diversity of surrounding usages and of religious life, with our various nationalities and tongues, our crying need of faithful ministers, our imperfect provision for any and all of the urgent wants of the Church, there is danger that the genuinely Lutheran elements may become gradually alienated, * * * that the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace may be lost, and that our church, which alone in the history of Protestantism has maintained a genuine catholicity and unity, should drift into the sectarianism and separatism which characterize and curse our land."

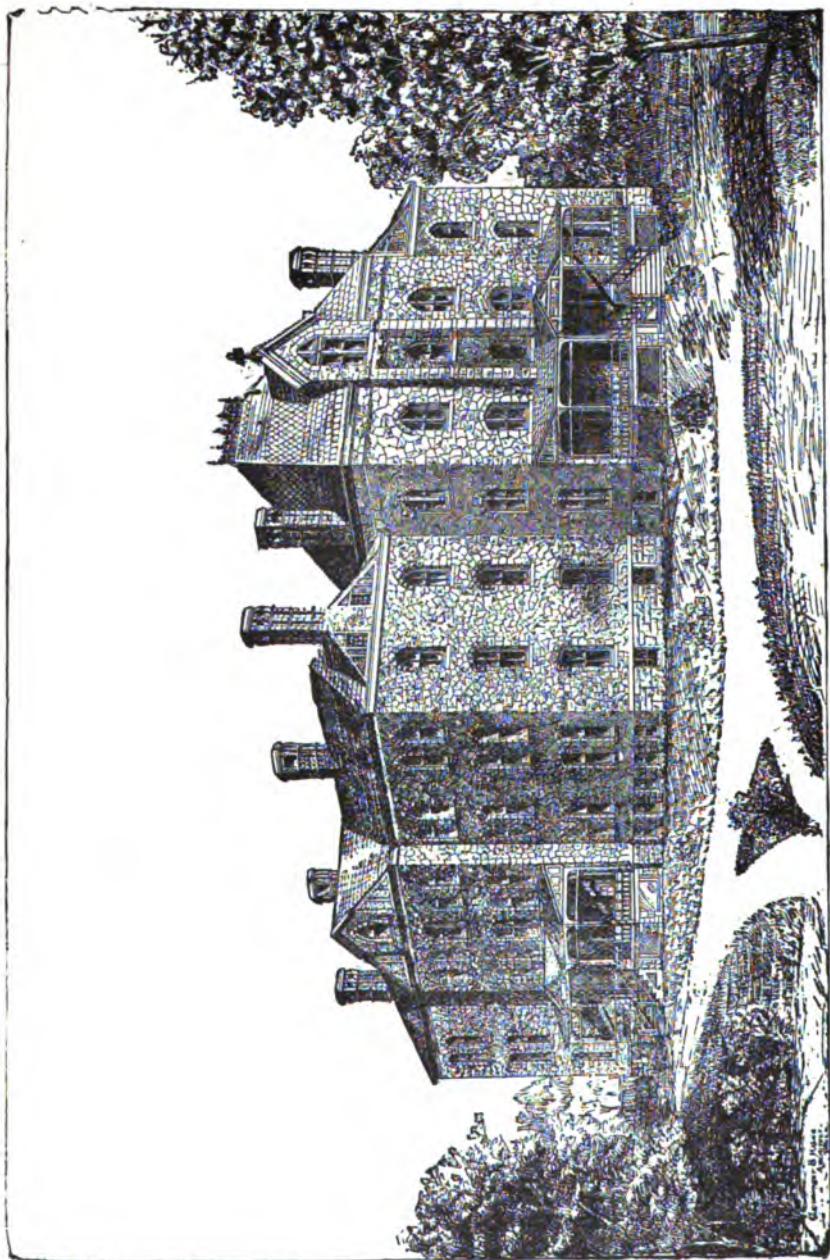
"Apart from these extraordinary reasons, our general vocation as a Church, the interest of foreign and home missions, of theological, collegiate and congregational education, of institutions of beneficence, of a sound religious literature, all demand such an organization as shall enable our whole Church in this land in its varied tongues, to work together in the unity of a pure faith."

No favorable response to this Fraternal Address came from any synod still identified with the General

Synod, but representatives from the Synod of Pennsylvania, the English, English District, and Joint Synods of Ohio, from the Wisconsin, Michigan, Pittsburgh, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Canada, New York, and the Norwegian Synods, assembled at Reading, December 11, 1866. The Augustana Synod was represented by letter. The president of the temporary organization was Rev. Professor W. F. Lehman of the Joint Synod of Ohio, of the permanent convention, Rev. G. Bassler of the Pittsburgh Synod, two names that will long be endeared to the Lutheran Church for their living exemplification of its faith and spirit.

The preliminary step toward effecting an organization was the unanimous adoption of the "Fundamental principles of Faith and Church Polity." A committee was appointed to outline a constitution to be submitted to the respective District Synods. Whenever ten of them should have accepted this, it was provided that it shall at once go into effect and a convention be called under it, whose title shall be "The General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America."

The requisite number of synods adopted the constitution and the first convention met accordingly, November 20, 1867, at Fort Wayne, Ind., where the division of the General Synod had occurred the previous year. Twelve were represented. The several districts of the Missouri Synod sent a communication proposing a series of free conferences before consummating an organic union. The Joint Synod of Ohio also declined to adopt the constitution but "sent delegates to sit in conference on such subjects of difference as



LUTHERAN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

may exist." While heartily desiring a union of Lutheran Synods, this body saw practical difficulties in the way, on account of which it could not yet form a connection with the General Council. Relative to such difficulties it asked for an answer on the following points:

First.—What relation will this venerable body in future sustain to Chiliasm?

Second.—Mixed Communion?

Third.—The exchanging of pulpits with sectarians?

Fourth.—Secret or unchurchly Societies?

The delegates of the Synod of Iowa offered a communication of similar import with the exception of question first, proposing that the Council officially renounce church fellowship with such as are not Lutheran, that it exclude from synodical connection, from the communion and from the pulpit, all who are "not purely Lutheran," and asking for the enforcement of this principle against the practice implied in the three last questions given above.

The answer given to this paper was to the effect that the Council was not prepared to endorse the position of the Iowa Synod, but would "refer the matter to the District Synods until such time as by the blessing of God's Holy Spirit, and the leadings of his Providence, we shall be enabled, throughout the whole General Council and all its churches, to see eye to eye in all the details of practice and usage."

The Iowa Synod holding that there must be complete and hearty agreement not only in the principles of faith, "but also in an ecclesiastical practice accordant with such faith," refused to complete its connec-

tion with the Council, its representatives contenting themselves with the privilege of debate at its conventions, which they continue to enjoy. For similar reasons the Synods of Ohio and Missouri decided not to enter into the union, and a few years later the Synods of Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota concluded to withdraw from it.

Such was the origin of the famous "Four Points" which have gained a historic interest in the Lutheran Church. They became a most important factor in the development of the General Council, arresting in its very first convention the realization of the original plan of its founders, and in no small degree "damping the bright and perhaps somewhat sanguine expectations of its warmest friends," while they kept the body for years in constant agitation.

On the doctrinal basis, which "accepts and acknowledges the doctrines of the Unaltered Augsburg Confession in its original sense as throughout in conformity with the pure truth of which God's Word is the only rule," and holds that "the other Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, inasmuch as they set forth none other than its system of doctrine, and articles of faith, are of necessity pure and scriptural," there was entire and spontaneous unanimity among all those Synods now for the first time brought into official and fraternal contact. The same is true of their reception of the Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity, but when it came to the application and enforcement of these principles, the disagreement was so decided that the Council was after all able to rally less than half of the great Lutheran

community which had heretofore maintained independent and isolated organizations.

The wide chasm which now appeared between these bodies and the General Council, was in the first place, as stated by Prof. Spaeth, "the natural result of the historical development, through which those various sections of the Church had passed, which now endeavored to form an organic union. The Lutheran Church in the Eastern part of our country, having been founded about 150 years ago, had passed through all the different stages of church life, suffering and death, by which the history of the Church and Theology of the German Fatherland was characterized in that period. We need not be surprised to find that during this time many things had crept in, which were in conflict with the spirit and Confession of our Church. Over against those things the renewed appreciation of the Lutheran Confession and the honest return to the same was of comparatively recent date. It was therefore not to be expected that there should have been on all sides at the very outset a thorough insight into all the consequences and obligations of a decided and consistent adoption of the Lutheran Confession. On the other hand most of the Lutheran Synods of the West had been founded at a much more favorable season. Out of the very fullness and freshness of the revived Confession, partly even in the martyr spirit of a persecuted church, have their foundations been laid and their structures raised. Accordingly their whole congregational life could much more easily and more consistently be organized on the principles established in

the Confession, and many evils could be excluded which in other places had taken root and had been growing for nearly a century."

The first and supreme interest kept in view in the formation of the General Council being that of purity of doctrine and the development of a sound cultus and practice from this source, that subject has in the main absorbed the discussions of its annual conventions and the literary activity of its teachers. In this sphere it has rendered invaluable services, the whole Church appreciating its contribution to the knowledge of Lutheran teaching and Lutheran history.

From the beginning the Council has considered it one of the great tasks to be accomplished by it that the different languages and nationalities "should be firmly knit together in this New World in the unity of one and the same pure faith." Recognizing the language of the country, and holding that Lutheranism is bound and is able to preserve its faith and its spirit in an English garb, its pastors and churches were from the first entreated "to suffer no distinction of language to interfere with the great work which God has assigned to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in this country." And its success in the practical co-ordination of languages and nationalities is not only without a parallel, but commends itself as a marvellous and glorious achievement. Diversities of language, diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit, was the watchword of the Apostolic Church, and the spectacle of the German, the Scandinavian and the American elements so widely separated by language, nationality and training, standing together and working harmoniously in one

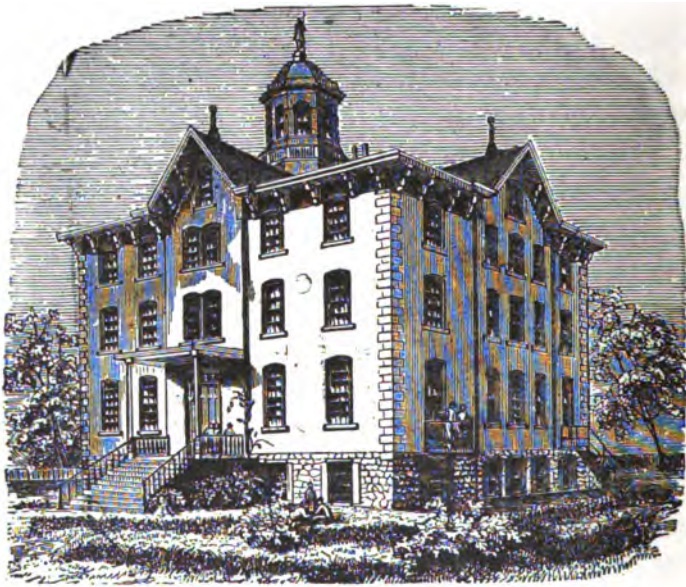
ecclesiastical body "without giving and taking offence, provoking and encouraging one another to appropriate the good features found in each," recalls the day of Pentecost, rebukes the sects which make the Americanization of the Lutheran immigrants the pretext for their proselyting devices, and offers to Lutherans, in particular, one of the most cheering pledges of the rapid and wide enlargement of their Church. Although the German and Scandinavian languages are used in perhaps a majority of the congregations, and these languages have full rights in the conventions of the Council, most of its proceedings are, by common consent, conducted in English as the tongue most familiar to the vast majority. The English has, in fact, been adopted as the official language. There is no danger of it ever becoming a foreign body, a new Scandinavia or a new Germany on American soil.

A notable element of the Council's strength and success is the Theological Seminary at Philadelphia. Its establishment antedates the disruption of the General Synod, and was itself a recognition of the diverse tendencies that prevailed between those who sought primarily to uphold the standards of the Church and those who represented the "American" type of Lutheranism. Warm controversies were raging in periodicals and other publications, and an irreconcilable antagonism showed itself especially at Gettysburg, where in the same building, one professor in almost every lecture disparaged and discredited the Confessions, while another one constantly inspired his students with the highest veneration for them.

The Pennsylvania Synod believed that its views

and wants could not be satisfied in that institution and was agitating for some years the founding of another under its immediate control, which should conform to its doctrinal position and give proper attention to the education of German pastors.

The gift of \$30,000 for the endowment of a professorship by Mr. Charles F. Norton, a like sum from



ORPHAN HOME AND ASYLUM FOR AGED, GERMANTOWN, PA.

the Synod, along with other generous donations, enabled it in the fall of 1864 to open a seminary with five eminent professors, and with provision for a full course of theology in both German and English.

The establishment of the seminary at that juncture became naturally an occasion for aggravating the controversies that were already agitating the church,

and it contributed no little in determining the result at Fort Wayne in 1866. Coming so soon after the withdrawal of the delegation at York in 1864, the impression spread that the Synod had already severed its connection with the General Synod, and strengthened the purpose to contest its re-admission.

The policy of the Council in concentrating its English and German interests in one theological school, while the General Synod with a much smaller constituency is endeavoring to keep up five, has given to the Philadelphia Seminary an exceptional prosperity.

The missionary activity of the General Council cannot be properly estimated without considering its polyglot composition and the relation which the constituent synods sustain in this respect to the general body. The General Synod being much more homogeneous is able to commit the entire administration of its Home Mission work to the two boards of Home Missions and Church Extension. While likewise pursuing this method with its prosperous foreign mission the Council is constrained not only to have three Home Mission Boards, an English, a German, and a Scandinavian, but also to leave the greater part of this interest to the respective synods.

The General Council has been distinguished by the number of able, learned and eminent divines upon its roll. Several have already passed to their eternal reward, although the body on which they have left their indelible impress is yet in comparative infancy. The prominence and influence of two of these in founding and shaping the Council call for a pause at this point. With a surprising coincidence they bear

the names of Krauth and Schmucker, names that will never fade from the memory of the Lutheran Church. They were sons respectively of the two venerable Gettysburg professors, sons that surpassed "the praise of their great sires," especially in the incalculable and ineffaceable results of their activity.

Charles Porterfield Krauth, D. D., LL. D., was beyond question the most gifted, the most learned and the most renowned theologian of the English Lutheran Church, commanding even in Germany recognition "as one of the chief scholars in the great Church of theologians." His brilliancy and versatility, his vast erudition, his combination of breadth and depth of culture, and his voluminous writings gave him an exalted station among his contemporaries. Dr. Schaff, his colleague on the American Committee of Old Testament Revisers, speaks of his death, which occurred before he had attained three-score years, as a great loss "to the whole Church of Christ in this land, and to the republic of letters. Our country has produced few men who united in their own persons so many of the excellences, which distinguish the scholar, the theologian, the exegete, the debater and the leader of his brethren. His learning did not smother his genius, nor did his philosophical attainments impair the simplicity of his faith."

His crowning glory, his imperishable monument, is found in his incomparable service in behalf of the faith, history and cultus of the Lutheran Church. Having by years of close study come to the conviction that the full truth of God's Word was nowhere set forth with such clearness, purity and fullness as in

her collective Confessions, and that in all their doctrinal teachings these were in conformity with that Word, he expended his talents and energies in their interpretation into the thought and idiom of this nation, in their exposition, elucidation and defense. His own heart held captive by the discovery of the rich treasures of the Church, he earnestly called her children to the consciousness of their inheritance.

As Editor of the *Lutheran and Missionary*, as Professor in the Philadelphia Seminary, as author of the Fundamental Principles of Faith and Church Polity and other important official documents, as President of the Council by common consent for ten years, and especially by his "Conservative Reformation," he exerted an epoch-making influence over the Lutheran Church of this country.

His fellow-laborer and life-long friend, Beale M. Schmucker, D. D., offers a striking proof that faith as well as blood leaves its impress upon posterity. Representing one of the distinguished families which in each successive generation contributes at least one worthy son to the ministry of the Lutheran Church, he inherited the strong and splendid personal qualities which characterized alike his grandfather and his father, each in his day and peculiar environment being the model of a cultured Christian gentleman.

In view of subsequent developments in the Church, what a stroke of Providence it must have been to locate young Krauth and young Schmucker soon after the completion of their training at the Gettysburg institutions, in neighboring towns in the State of Virginia, where, with a standing engagement to spend

together one week of every three months and with regular correspondence during the interval, they jointly studied the doctrines and history of their Church. It was there that the theological position of these sons of Gettysburg Professors underwent a powerful change, and to an humble parsonage in the Valley of Virginia may be traced the birth of a movement that has affected almost the entire Lutheran Church of this country and permanently changed the stream of her development.

No one was more active or zealous than Dr. Schmucker in founding the General Council and its institutions, and no one has done more in the preparation of nearly all its official documents, especially its hymnal, catechisms and forms of worship, for which he possessed rare gifts and through industrious and minute research had acquired uncommon attainments. In Liturgics he had no superior in this country or in Germany, in his own Church or in any other. A learned Episcopal bishop was wont to refer his clergy to him as being better posted than himself on all questions pertaining to the "Book of Common Prayer." His labors in this sphere were prompted by the interests of divine worship, by the desire of his heart to have the believer on coming to the throne of grace employ the most appropriate terms 'which the Holy Spirit has put upon the lips of God's Children through many ages.'

THE PENNSYLVANIA MINISTERIUM.

The General Council is essentially an alliance of Synods. Its most powerful member is without ques-

tion the Pennsylvania Ministerium, the parent organization of this country, the founder of the General Synod in 1820 and of the General Council in 1867. Its history is for nearly a century the history of the Church. Although in previous chapters its progress, its operations and strength are noted, it well merits a separate chapter. Yet as nothing short of an entire volume would suffice to bring out fully its place and part in the development of the Church, further details, however interesting and important, cannot here be attempted. One of its noblest products in recent years is the establishment of Muhlenberg College at Allentown, Penn., in 1867.

THE NEW YORK MINISTERIUM.

Another strong constituent of the Council is the



WAGNER MEMORIAL COLLEGE,
ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Ministerium of New York, the second oldest Synod in America, which through all the changes of a century has uniformly sustained relations of warm sympathy to the Mother Synod. It numbers over 26,000 communicants, supports a Professor in the Philadelphia Seminary and has lately established the Luther Wagner Memorial Col-

lege at Rochester, N. Y. Since the separation of nearly the entire English element in 1867, it has been predominantly a German body but a number of vigor-

ous and prosperous English Churches have in recent years been organized. A compendious history of this body prepared in the German language by Rev. John Nicum has been published by official authority.

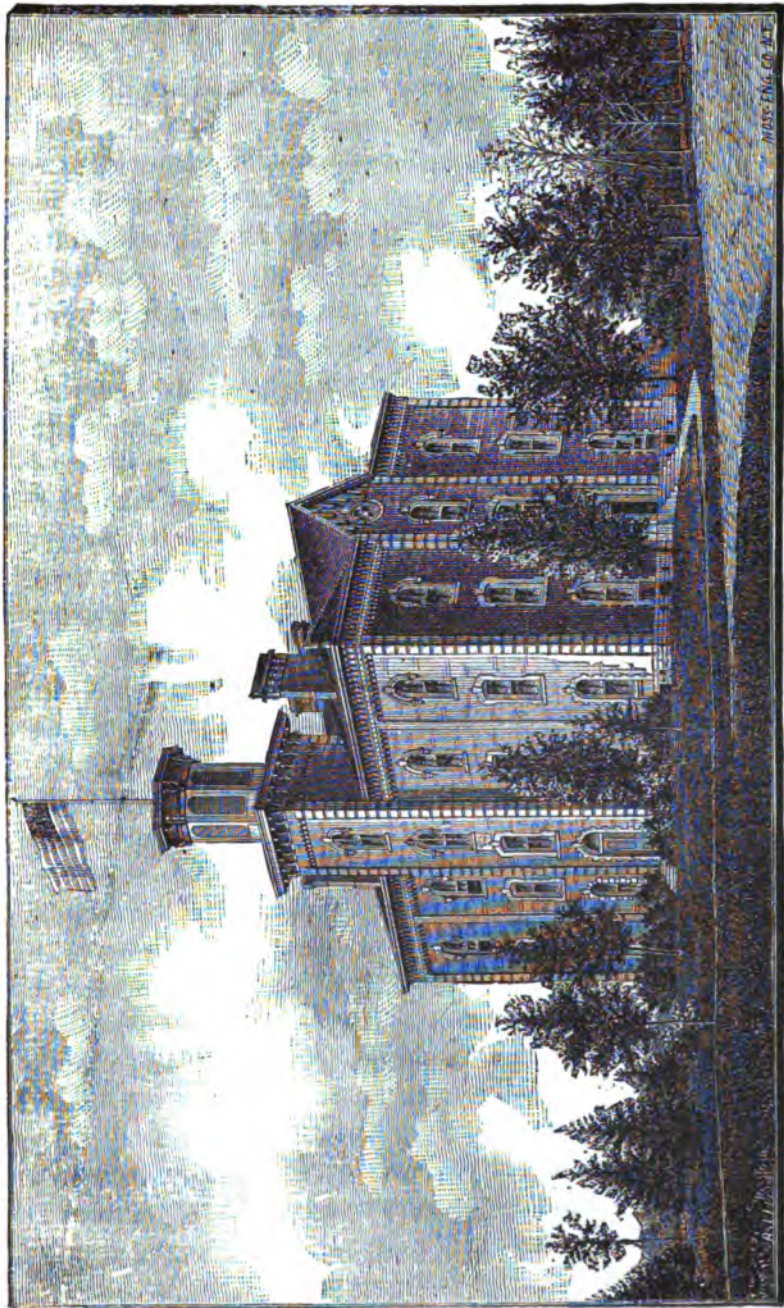
THE PITTSBURG SYNOD.

The Pittsburg Synod has a history of its own which claims some notice. Organized in the city of Pittsburg, January 15, 1845, by eight ministers and six laymen it represented some forty congregations with a membership of about 3,500. The western section of Pennsylvania had heretofore been common ground for the German Synod of Ohio, its English district, the English Synod of Ohio and the Synod of West Pennsylvania. These eight ministers stood connected with seven different synodical bodies. The time for uniting themselves and their churches in one body would seem to have been ripe, especially as the territory they occupied lay at the extreme limits of the Synods which were respectively and in a desultory fashion seeking to cultivate it. A centre was needed, co-operation, a common purpose.

Hence it was resolved to sink all minor differences of opinion, such as preferences for literary, theological and benevolent institutions, and to ignore such distinctions as were commonly designated by the terms "old and new measures." Having thus disposed of the obstacles which blocked the way of union they formed an association in order

First. To bring the hitherto separated congregations of Western Pennsylvania into one body,

Second. Provide these churches with a holy and



THIEL COLLEGE, GREENVILLE, PA.

competent ministry, either through stated supplies or permanent pastors,

Third. Build up and reorganize such as were languishing,

Fourth. Carry the Gospel to destitute settlements throughout that territory.

This body has won the honorable distinction of "the Missionary Synod." It has been singularly aggressive in all church works and abundant in sacrifices, alms and labors. While holding firmly to the Church's Confession, cherishing her pure faith and maintaining a conservative tendency, the bond which united its congregations has been conspicuously its educational, missionary and charitable work.

In 1850 it sent a missionary to Canada who was soon followed by others. Their success in that province led to the organization of a separate Synod in 1861. In 1851 missionaries were sent to Texas and material support was given to the feeble congregations there, until they also were able a few years later to organize a Synod, which like that of Canada stands connected with the General Council. The Minnesota Synod also owes its existence to this body's activity. Missionary work has been successfully carried on in Nova Scotia and missions have been sustained in Knoxville, Chattanooga, Nashville, Wheeling, Fort Wayne, Canton, Cleveland, Chicago and other western cities at an expense of not less than \$100,000. The Synod can point to many flourishing churches which its far-seeing efforts brought into existence. A generous support has also been given to the cause of ministerial education. A successful col-

lege is in operation at Greenville, Penn., and a number of institutions of mercy, sheltering orphans and the suffering, evince the spirit that animates this body. Its eight ministers have multiplied to 109, notwithstanding the withdrawal of a number with their congregations during the crisis of 1866, and it now embraces 190 congregations and 20,000 communicants. It united with the General Synod in 1853, in "the hope that a connection with the Parent Education and Missionary Society of that body would widen its field of influence." "Its separation from the General Synod and union with the Council in 1867 resulted from the firm conviction that the change would enhance its opportunities for building up the Redeemer's Kingdom."

Nearly all its founders have fallen asleep. Among the foremost of the noble group stood Rev. Gottlieb Bassler, who was repeatedly elected president and to whose consecrated executive ability is owing in great measure the development of the Lutheran Church in Western Pennsylvania. His purity of character, his humility, honesty, generosity, his judgment and his devotion to conviction were such that no one could be long in contact with him without coming under his influence.

THE SWEDISH AUGUSTANA SYNOD.

THE thrilling episode of the Swedish Colony of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries occupies an earlier chapter of this volume. The humble beginnings, rapid growth and earnest spirit of the Swedish

Augustana Synod, offers another bright portion of the history of the Lutheran Church in America.

The immigration from which it has sprung began about 1845, reached noticeable proportions in ten years, rose after the war to tens of thousands annually and continues a large and steady stream. There are now in this country a million of Swedes of the first and second generations. While the great mass is to be found in the northern part of the Mississippi Valley, there are Swedish Lutherans in Puritan New England and in the new Northwest beyond the Rocky Mountains. Chicago, Minneapolis and St. Paul are their ecclesiastical and social centres. In Minnesota they form one-sixth of the population.

Most of these people are farmers. Others are mechanics and laborers. Not a few are the leading merchants and business men of their communities.

In the earlier days of immigration, while their number was small, the Swedes seemed possessed of inordinate haste to lay aside every national peculiarity and to Americanize by wholesale. Their marvelous increase, coupled with the multiplication of Swedish newspapers and schools, has led to a reaction. The tendency towards the use of the English language in worship, as well as in business, is now, generally speaking, more gradual and is more readily kept within churchly channels. A wide difference obtains in this matter between rural and city districts. Where a farming community is exclusively Swedish, the customs and even some of the costumes of the fatherland persist. In mixed communities, especially in cities, a great change is effected in a single genera-



REV. L. P. ESBJORN.

tion. But the Scandinavian generally Americanizes more rapidly than the German.

The man selected by Providence to lay the foundations of the Swedish Lutheran Church in America, was Rev. Lars P. Esbjörn, who settled in Henry county, Ill., not far from Rock Island. In 1850 with but ten members he founded the first regular Lutheran Church, at Andover. The original church edifice still stands, but the congregation now worships in an immense building, and holds the first rank among the Swedish congregations.

Esbjörn was a true bishop. He visited the scattered settlements, organizing congregations and preparing the way for pastors. When it became necessary to find a man for the Scandinavian professorship in Capital University, Springfield, Ill., all eyes turned to him. Thence he was in 1860 called to the newly established theological seminary in Chicago. He subsequently returned to Sweden and died in the service of the State Church.

Esbjörn associated with himself two men of God, who continue unto this day the beloved patriarchs of the Synod, Rev. Tuve N. Hasselquist, D. D., and Rev. Erland Carlsson. The former began in 1855 his editorial career by issuing a politico-religious weekly, entitled "*Hemlandet, det Gamla och det Nya,*" *i. e.* The Old and the New Fatherland. Out of it have grown the substantial Chicago weekly "*Hemlandet,*" edited by Hon. John Enander, and the weekly synodical organ "*Augustana och Missionären,*" edited by Dr. Hasselquist. Through these papers, and, in his capacity as president of the Synod for ten,

and of Augustana College and Theological Seminary for twenty-six years, Dr. H. has been the instructor, champion, and spiritual father of the Swedish people of this country.

The equally important position of pastor at Chicago was occupied for twenty-two years (1853-1875) by Rev. E. Carlsson. The fervor of his pulpit ministrations and his masterly skill as an organizer were blessed to the building up of Immanuel Church, now a parish of sixteen hundred communicants. As president of the Synod and of the college board, he skillfully guided and developed the energies of the Synod and impressed it with a spirit of "faith that worketh by love."

The Swedish work was brought into connection with American church life by the temporary union of the Swedes with the Synod of Northern Illinois—a General Synod body. As this synod simply affirmed the Augsburg Confession to be "a summary of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion substantially correct," the Swedish conferences carefully guarded their rights on entering the body. Feeling hampered by the union, they abruptly withdrew in 1860, and immediately formed an organization of their own, composed of the Chicago, Mississippi, and Minnesota Conferences, and containing half as many Norwegians as Swedes. The first convention of "The Scandinavian Augustana Synod" was held in the Norwegian church at Jefferson Prairie, near Clinton, Rock county, Wis., June 5, 1860. Twenty-eight pastors, representing five thousand communicants, participated in the organization. The most important step taken was the found-

ing of a theological seminary at Chicago. This seminary has been the chief source of supply for the Synod, the pronounced sentiment of the body favoring a ministry educated in America. This has conduced to such unity of view and strength of attachment to the Synod as to render it difficult to effect a change in the organization, now that it has grown so numerous and widely extended, making the attendance and entertainment of the whole body impracticable.

Among the notable founders of this Synod mention should be made of the following: Rev. Erik Norelius, born in Sweden, but educated at Capital University, Ohio, the pioneer of the Minnesota Conference, one of the originators of nearly all its institutions, the college begun at Red Wing, 1862, the Weekly Skaffaren, and the Vasa Orphans' Home. His three volume history of the Synod, now in press, reveals the painstaking scholar and the graceful writer;

Rev. Jonas Svensson of Andover, Ill., remarkable as a preacher and a catechist. It was not uncommon for him to preach for three hours, without notes and without fault of logic or excess of verbiage. His catechumens were readily distinguished by their thorough knowledge of divine things;

Rev. Peter Carlsson, who after years spent in the forests of Minnesota, went to the Northwest and founded the leading churches in Idaho, Washington, and Oregon.

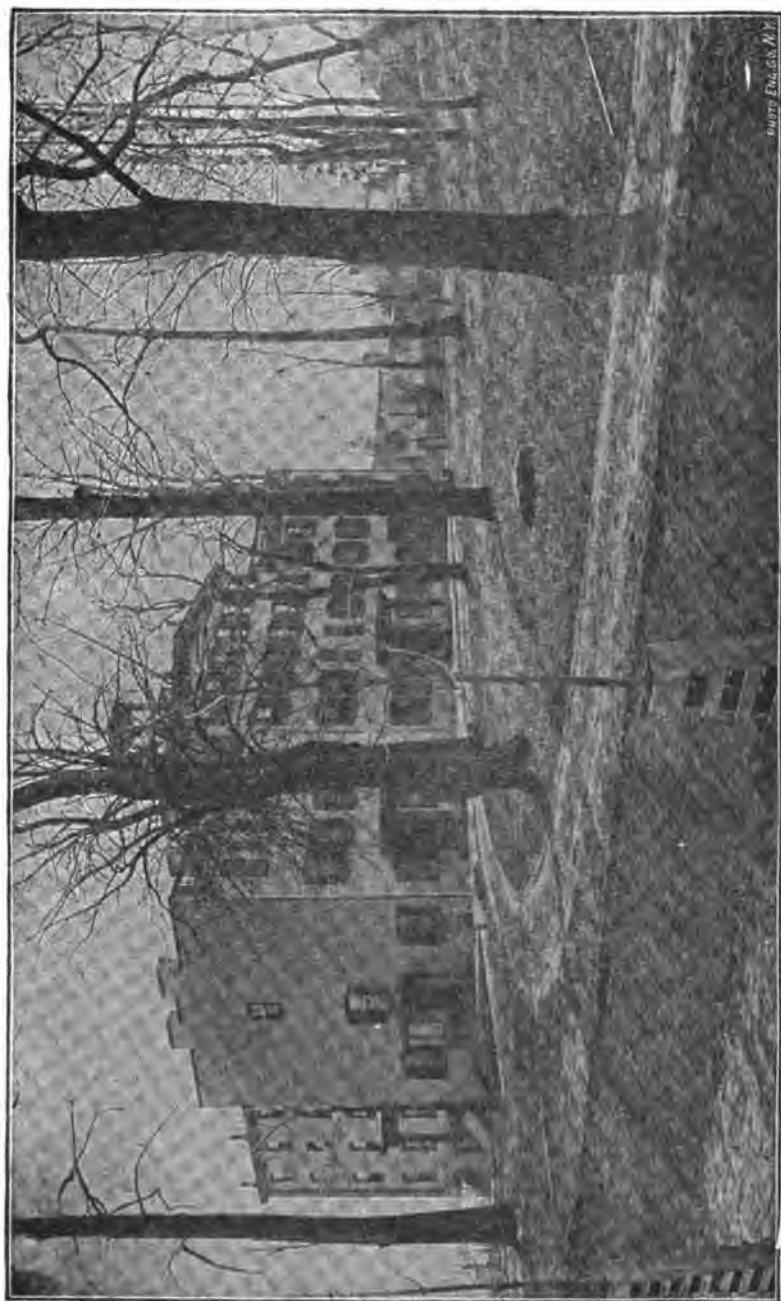
During this, "the patriarchal period," although under the external pressure of temporal poverty and many other difficulties, such as the Civil War, and the great

Sioux outbreak in Minnesota in 1862, the development was more internal and tranquil.

The theological seminary was removed in 1863 to Paxton, Ill. An American professor and a Norwegian—Rev. Wm. Kopp and Rev. A. Weenaas—were added. A general collection in Sweden yielded \$10,846. Five thousand volumes were received from the library of the late King Oscar I.

In 1867 the Synod participated in the formation of the General Council, in whose deliberations its delegates have taken an honorable part. It early pronounced against indiscriminate communion, pulpit fellowship, and secret societies. Persons connected with lodges were in most congregations permitted to remain, but no new ones were received; in others they were excluded. Saloon-keepers are also excluded, and a strong temperance sentiment prevails.

About 1865 there came to Kansas at the head of a Swedish colony a man who has awakened extraordinary enthusiasm in the Synod, Rev. Olof Olsson. He settled at Lindsborg, Kansas, which under his magnetic leadership became a centre of singular power and activity. At one time his people sent him to the legislature of Kansas. Prof. Olsson is an interesting writer. His ability as such was of great service when the hyper-evangelical tendency in Sweden ran out into the Waldenstromian heresy—a species of Socinianism taught in Sweden by Waldenström, who is now propagating his views in this country. From pulpit and theological chair (at Rock Island) Prof. Olsson fought this error. Above all he enkindled a burning zeal in all the students of the college and seminary.



MUHLENBERG COLLEGE, ALLENTOWN, PA.

The Synod holds an annual meeting continuing for about ten days. Two or three sermons are preached daily, and doctrinal discussions occupy much time when not, as latterly, crowded into the background. The Synodical council, consisting of the President and Vice-President of the Synod and two representatives from each conference, spends several days in preparing business for the Convention. The Ministerium meets next. Every applicant for ordination and every ordained minister dismissed to this Synod must appear before it for examination touching his faith and life. In the ordination as many ministers as possible unite in the laying on of hands. Not only the Augsburg Confession but the entire Book of Concord is accepted.

The Synod deals with general questions—ordination, the institutions at Rock Island, home missions outside of the Conferences, missions among the Mormons, foreign missions, and publication.

The Conferences, dealing with most of these questions within their own bounds, and having educational and charitable institutions of their own, are virtual sub-synods. They meet twice a year for a week or ten days. In order that each congregation may be reached, they are subdivided into mission districts, which are conferences in the usual sense of the term, and in which preaching predominates.

The college and seminary were transferred to Rock Island, 1875. The St. Ansgar's Academy at St. Peter, Minn., was reopened as Gustavus Adolphus College; and about the same time, the publication of three new papers—*Barn Vänner* (Children's Friend) by Rev.

A. Hult, and Ungdoms Vänner (Friend of Youth), a monthly, and Korsbaneret (The Banner of the Cross), an annual, was begun.

The present decade is viewed as "the transitional period." The fathers are gradually relaxing their hold; a generation born or educated here is coming forward; an unmistakable Americanization has set in. The magnificent Bethany College has been built at Lindsborg, Kan., and Orphanages have lately sprung up at Mariedahl, Kan., Staunton, Iowa, and in the old settlement at Jamestown, N. Y.

The publication cause has taken a new phase. The Synod in 1875 sold its bookstore to a Chicago firm in consideration of an annual payment of \$1,000 for ten years, and now a vigorous society, the Augustana Book Concern, publishes a number of periodicals and books and is a source of revenue to the Church.

The work of the Synods covers the Union. The eastern-most Church is at New Sweden in the Maine forests. New England is missionary ground. In New York stands the handsome Gustavus Adolphus Church. In Philadelphia Zion Swedish Church. The Illinois Conference extends into the copper districts along Lake Superior. Chicago has twelve Swedish churches and the Swedish Augustana Hospital and Deaconess House. Rockford, Ill., has a church seating two thousand. It cost \$65,000. The congregation at Moline, a suburb of Rock Island, numbers twelve hundred.

Rock Island has a group of five college buildings, the latest a costly stone structure in chaste Gothic style, one of the finest Lutheran college buildings in the land. Its erection was made possible by the gift

of \$25,000 from the Hon. P. L. Cable, president of the Rock Island Railway Company. Augustana College and the institutions at St. Peter and Lindsborg now contain business and musical departments. The seminary makes full provision for the English interests.

Minneapolis and St. Paul form the second great Scandinavian center, with already over fifty thousand



AUGUSTANA COLLEGE, ROCK ISLAND, ILL.

Swedes. Augustana church, Minneapolis, has a congregation of nearly two thousand. At St. Peter there is a college with a large faculty and 245 students, and there are several flourishing academies. The peculiar difficulties of this field are the vast floating population, the increasing worldliness of the later immigration, and the pernicious activity of the sects.

An element which by every sacred bond is united

with the Lutheran Church, is sought to be wrested from it by Methodists, Baptists and especially the so-called Mission Friends. With the latter the Congregationalists have been courting fellowship. Some years ago a determined effort was made by the Episcopalians to appropriate this rich Lutheran material. Through their agency the Swedish bishops were persuaded at one time to grant letters of dismissal, recommending the emigrants to the care of Episcopalian rectors where Swedish Lutheran pastors could not be found. Not many Swedes were alienated from their church by this proselyting device. There is very little high church tendency among those that come to this country, and though they were accustomed to Episcopal government in the State Church, they know nothing of Apostolic Succession or the divine right of bishops. Firmly grounded in the doctrines of the Gospel, indefatigable in promoting evangelical activity and spirituality, and united as one man, the Augustana Synod has been wonderfully successful in preserving the Swedish people from fanaticism and gathering them into churches of their own faith.

Effective English work has been done at Minneapolis, and at St. Paul. Lutherans of eight nationalities have been gathered into these congregations. By the same pastors congregations have been established at Red Wing and West St. Paul. Other attempts have been made by the Synod itself to solve the English problem at Chicago and Rock Island by separate congregations, at Galesburg, Rockford, Denver, and elsewhere, by more or less frequent English Sunday evening services.

The Nebraska churches with their own school cen-

ter at Wahoo, and noble deaconess work at Omaha, have since 1887 constituted a distinct Conference. The Kansas Conference covers a wide field—Kansas, Texas, Colorado, which it cultivates with self-sacrificing zeal. Out of the labors of Rev. Peter Carlsson on the Northwestern coast and Rev. J. Telleen in California, has sprung the Pacific Conference. To rescue the Swedes sunk in Mormonism, Prof. S. M. Hill, 1882, began work at Salt Lake City. A church has been erected and an academy begun. A number of pastors now labor in the Territory of Utah.

The home missionary work has sorely taxed the energies of the Synod. At times settled pastors have spent a month every year in the mission field. Again they have served four or five churches until these were strong enough to support their own pastors. Occasionally catechists have been employed, but the chief dependence has been students of theology, pious college students of all stages of preparation, and professors ordained and unordained.

The parochial schools maintained by most congregations and taught by students have been an agency of great good. They are held for a month or more during the summer. A few hold sessions of six months or more. Instruction is given in Bible History, Luther's Catechism, the Swedish Language, Church History, and Church Hymns. To this the pastor adds a six months' term of catechization, meeting his class from two even four hours a day once or twice a week. Confirmation takes place about Palm Sunday. A public examination precedes.

At "Högmessa" (High Mass), or the Sunday morn-

ing service, the full liturgical service (according to the hymn-book of 1819) is used. It is in the main that of the Common Service, with the Confession of Sins, the greater "Gloria" (a verse of "Allena Gud i himmelrik," "All glory be to God on high)," the pericopes, collects, etc. On high days the minister intones his part of the service. The Lord's Prayer is often merely indicated by the opening words, the people following in silence. The sermon is as a rule extemporaneous and on the Gospel for the day. Prayer-meetings are held, at which the laity take part in prayer and exhortation. The Week of Prayer is observed.

The people are earnest readers of such devotional works as Luther's sermons, Arndt's True Christianity, and the writings of the Swedish Pietists, Rosenius and Fjellstedt. The Bible with brief notes by Fjellstedt, or Melin, and the Book of Concord are found in many households. This fact augurs well for a continuance of Christian knowledge and true godliness, despite the temptations incident to the twofold transition from poverty to affluence and from the language and customs of Sweden to those of America.

The strength of this synod is 292 ministers, 582 congregations, 343 church buildings, and 76,000 communicants, with 19,889 scholars and 2,606 teachers in the Sunday-schools, 272 parochial schools and 11,464 pupils. The contributions for educational purposes were, in 1888, \$28,415; home missions, \$14,538; foreign missions, \$5,946; church extension, orphans, etc., \$19,476; the whole averaging \$1.00 per member. The synod doubles every fifteen years.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE UNITED SYNOD IN THE SOUTH.

THE rupture of the Federal Union in 1861 was regarded final by the great body of the people in the Confederate States. The members of the Lutheran Church shared this conviction, and believing their civil and political separation to be beyond recall they deemed it expedient and necessary to have a new general ecclesiastical organization. The movement was abetted by the alienation inevitably growing out of domestic war and by the bitterness of feeling which a sharp conflict of sentiment on sectional institutions naturally produced, while the general desire for a more pronounced adherence to the Augsburg Confession which a few years later triumphed also in the General Synod, had already attained decided strength in the South.

A preliminary convention of a few delegates at Salisbury, N. C., May 15, 1862, accomplished little beyond the appointment of special committees to provide for submission to a subsequent meeting, a constitution for the new body, a Formula of government and discipline, a Hymn-book and Catechism, and a Liturgy.

A year later delegations from the Synods of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Virginia and South-western Virginia assembled at Concord, N. C., and formally organized "The General Synod of the Evan-

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Rev. JOHN BACHMAN, D. D., LL. D.

gelical Lutheran Church in the Confederate States of America." Rev. John Bachman, D. D., LL. D., was elected President and Rev. David F. Bittle, D. D., Secretary. The doctrinal basis was declared to be "the Old and New Testaments as the Word of God and the only infallible rule of faith and practice," and "the Ecumenical Creeds and the Augsburg Confession as the exponents of this faith." A clause allowing liberty of construction on several articles of the Confession was added, but a later convention expunged it. The work of the other committees was accepted, the "Southern Lutheran" was made the organ of the body, the founding of a publishing company was resolved on, and the organization of the new body was perfected with a remarkable degree of harmony.

The second annual meeting was marked by the appointment of a Committee on Domestic Missions.

When the body met again, June 14, 1866, the war had ended, the Union was restored, a new title had to be adopted to conform to the changed situation, the problem of a continued separation from the Church North had to be grappled, and the founding of a theological seminary was advocated as the most pressing need of the hour.

A pastoral letter urging the continuance of a separate organization protested that this was due to no desire to keep up sectional animosity either in Church or State, but to a firm persuasion "that the prosperity of our beloved Zion in the South can best be subserved in this way." Connected with the General Synod from its organization, the result on the progress of the Southern Churches had not been satisfactory.

They had patronized the educational institutions and the literature of the North to the serious neglect of their own resources and the detriment of their own development. It devolved on them now to make proper sacrifices by way of building up and sustaining institutions and publications in their midst, and no longer to retard their growth by an unhealthy dependence upon the Church in the North. This letter also decried the latitudinarianism which, by ignoring every feature which distinguished the Lutheran Church from other denominations, extinguished that church love so essential to church activity, and furnished the excuse for the transition of ministers and members to other communions. A decided stand for Lutheran orthodoxy, it claimed, was required at this particular juncture. The division which was then taking place in the General Synod was finally pointed to as a decisive argument for not renewing organic relations with it. The perpetuation of a general body for the South was thus decided, and at the same session the Constitution was so modified as to give to it both legislative and judicial powers.

At the next convention, in 1867, the South Carolina Synod transferred its theological seminary at Newberry to the control of the General Synod, offering at the same time to support a professor from its own funds. Rev. A. J. Fox appeared as a commissioner from the Tennessee Synod to confer with reference to the union of that Synod with this body. This is the first step towards merging all the Southern Synods in one body, which was happily realized nineteen years later. Assurances were given to the Tennessee Synod

not only of a cordial reception as an integral part of the General Synod on its truly Lutheran basis, but also of the obligation laid upon this body by its basis to allow neither in its publications nor its theological schools any doctrine at variance with the Augsburg Confession. The Holston Synod was admitted in 1868, the Mississippi in 1872. At these conventions the problems of the most earnest deliberation were those of a theological seminary and a church paper; those brethren clearly recognizing that only a trained ministry and an enlightened laity can effect any permanent and thorough upbuilding of the church. At Winchester in 1870 the prosecution of Home and Foreign Missions was warmly canvassed and methods were proposed for enlisting the interest of the whole church. This convention has become memorable from a special communication received from the venerable Dr. Bachman expressing his prayerful concern for the prosperity of the church, and affirming that "there is nothing in our doctrines that should prevent a union of the whole church, both in Europe and America." In the interest of a consummation so devoutly to be wished, he suggested to the Synod "the appointment of delegates to meet those of other synods in consultation for the purpose of promoting a greater uniformity in our books of worship than at present exists. Other denominations have gained very much by establishing a uniform mode of worship. If this object could be accomplished our Church would, in my opinion, be more respected at home and abroad, and would accomplish a far greater amount of good." The General Synod was not prepared to take action

on this suggestion but it is well to note what **spirit** conceived the project of the Common Service. Six years later when the revision of the Book of Worship was under discussion "with a view to bringing it into more complete accord with the true Lutheran cultus," it was resolved that the powers of the committee be so enlarged as to invite the co-operation of the General Synod North and the General Council, by the appointment of similar committees, with a view



NEWBERRY COLLEGE, NEWBERRY, S. C.

to the adoption of a Common Service for the whole Church. The suggestion was promptly adopted and afterwards heartily and unanimously accepted by the other two bodies, and "the common consent of the pure Lutheran liturgies of the sixteenth century" made the basis for the preparation of the service. The Theological Seminary was in 1872 removed to Salem, Va., the seat of Roanoke College, where with two professors it soon attained a fair measure of patronage.

At the meeting in 1878 fraternal relations were opened with the General Synod North, after assurances from that body that its deliverances on the war were in no way designed to reflect upon the Christian character of the ministers and churches of the Southern Synods. An official visitor from the General Council was at the same time received and accorded "all the privileges of an advisory member." Peculiar interest was given to subsequent conventions by the presence and diplomatic addresses of distinguished corresponding delegates from these two bodies. A committee was also appointed to look after the moral and religious interests of the colored race, with especial reference to the establishment of Lutheran churches and educational and eleemosynary institutions among them, and the General Bodies in the North were invited to "co-operate in the advancement of this imperatively needed work."

At Charlotte, N. C., in 1882, an entire evening was devoted to the subject of union with other General Bodies of the church. "A full and courteous expressions of opinion was given by all the members" and it was

Resolved, "That this General Synod does honestly and earnestly desire to promote unity and concord between all the parts of our Evangelical Lutheran Church in this land, and stands prepared to co-operate in any concurrent movement of other General Bodies towards an organic union of our entire church upon an unequivocal Lutheran basis."

The committee on Missions was authorized to select and sustain a missionary in the foreign field under

the direction of the Foreign Mission Board of the General Synod North. This action was carried out with enthusiasm, but the course of the missionary who was thus sent out involved this promising movement in total failure.

The fifteenth and last convention of the General Synod South, held at Roanoke, Va., June 23, 1886, was made memorable by two events. The first was the report of its Committee on a Common Service that at a full meeting of the three committees, held in Philadelphia, in May, 1885, "a scheme of the normal service of the Lutheran Church" had been agreed upon without dissent, and that this had been subsequently and with absolute unanimity approved and adopted by the General Synod at Harrisburg. The other was the merging of the General Synod South into "the United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South," a union consummated between the General Synod and the Tennessee and the Holston Synods in accordance with a previous understanding and preliminary arrangements.

Two ways stood open at this juncture to the Synods which embrace nearly all the Lutheran congregations south of the Potomac. Either they must individually enter into organic relations with one of the general bodies that assert a national compass, or else perpetuating their sectional organization it behooved all of them to be incorporated into one body so as to gain the inestimable advantage of concentration. The strong current of reaction toward distinctive Lutheranism which was passing over the entire Church had especially affected the southern portion, and was bring-

ing into close sympathy bodies which had for many years kept up a sharp conflict with each other. A general and sincere interest in their union was therefore quite preceptible and the realization was recognized as alike feasible and in the highest degree desirable.

The Tennessee Synod made a formal deliverance on this subject which soon called out a hearty response from the Synods of North and South Carolina, Georgia and Virginia. The General Synod at its session in Charleston, 1884, declared itself "unwilling to have these divisions continue any longer without an earnest effort on their part to remove them," and while acknowledging the fidelity of the Tennessee Synod in its defense of the faith, it expressed its own devotion to the same precious truth, and argued that the causes for separation having passed away there should now be on the ground of a unity of the faith a formal realization of it in practice.

A commission was constituted "consisting of one ordained minister and one lay member of the various district Synods, who shall meet in conference with the Committee of the Evangelical Lutheran Tennessee Synod for the purpose of maturely considering this subject etc."

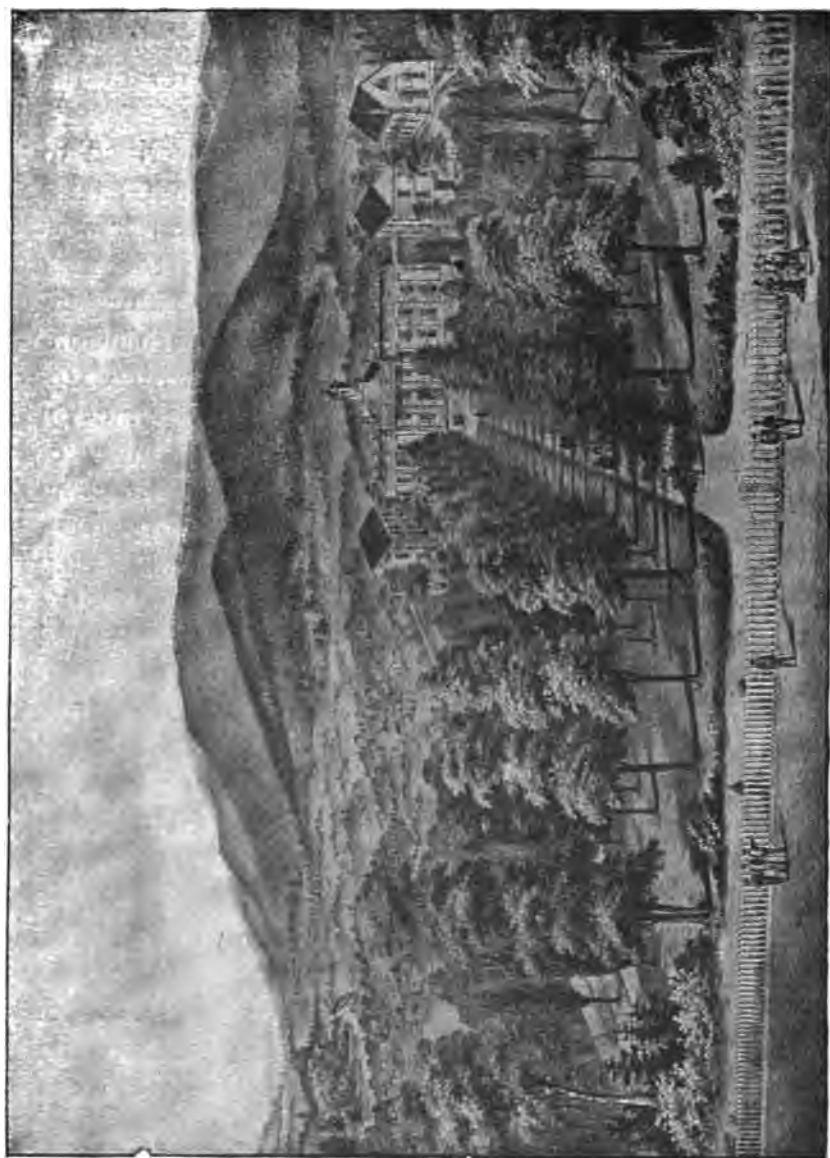
The Diet or Colloquium to consider the project of an organic union was held at Salisbury, N. C., November 12 and 13, 1884. It was composed of Commissioners from the General Synod South and delegates from all the Southern Synods except that of Mississippi. The spirit of harmony ruled this convention.

The basis for union which was unanimously

adopted accepts the Holy Scriptures as the only standard of doctrine and Church discipline, and the Ecumenical Creeds and the Unaltered Augsburg Confession as "a true and faithful exhibition of the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures in regard to matters of faith and practice." The other Lutheran Symbols were declared to be "true and scriptural developments of the doctrines taught in the Augsburg Confession, and in the perfect harmony of one and the same pure, Scriptural faith."

A constitution to be submitted to the different bodies represented was also agreed upon. It allowed the new body only advisory powers except in such matters "as pertain to the general interests or operations of the Church," namely liturgies, theological seminaries, foreign missions, important home missionary operations etc.

The General Synod at its next meeting in Roanoke, Va., June 23, 1886, gave its cordial approval to this basis, regarding it "as essentially identical with its present doctrinal basis," and also accepted the constitution as satisfactory. Similar action had already been taken by the Tennessee and Holston Synods. As their representatives were present at Roanoke only the formalities were required for the organization of the body contemplated and these being executed with entire unanimity, "the United Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the South," was formed. The Church of that section has thus come into one compact and harmonious body, working unitedly and with a new impetus for the advancement of the Gospel, notwithstanding the fact that there exist di-



ROANOKE COLLEGE, SALEM, VA.

versities of opinion and practice as marked as those which still divide the Church in other parts of the country.

This happy result must in the main be ascribed to the peculiar development of the Southern General Synod. Feeble in members and resources, it was called upon by extraordinary circumstances to break away from its former associations. It was thus enabled to plant itself definitely upon the Church's Confession and to issue a Book of Worship with Catechism, Confession and Prayers, that has had an immense educational influence in promoting unity of faith and uniformity of worship, in cementing the hearts of the people to their church, and preparing them for earnest co-operation with all in whom they recognize like precious faith and who are ruled by the same spirit. The numerical strength of the United Synod embraced in 1888, 8 district synods, 186 ministers, 392 congregations, and 33,625 communicants. Besides the Educational Institutions already named as under the auspices of the Tennessee Synod, there are in the bounds of the United Synod, colleges at Salem, Va., Mt. Pleasant, N. C., Newberry, S. C., with a theological department; and Female Seminaries at Staunton, Marion and Wytheville, Va., and at Mt. Pleasant and Charlotte, N. C.

If the growth of the Lutheran Church in the South has been relatively slow, this is in part undoubtedly due to the absence of immigration. It has not been wanting in church love nor in church activity commensurate with its opportunity. And it has been

honored by a large proportion of able, eminent and consecrated divines.

Towering above all others was the Rev. John Bachman, D. D., LL. D., Ph. D. (Berlin), for nearly sixty years pastor of St. John's, Charleston, which under his ministry became the most influential congregation in the South. He took a profound interest in the general work of the Church, and his influence, while he stood in connection with the General Synod or with the General Synod South, was always thrown on the side of a large, unselfish and permanent policy. To him chiefly the college and seminary, both now located at Newberry, S. C., owe their existence. From him came the first suggestion of a *Common Service*. The dignity, force and simplicity of his personal character gave Dr. Bachman a wide fame throughout the Southern States, but his greatest distinction was that of a man of science. He was in the first rank of ornithologists in his day. With Audubon, whose two sons married his two daughters, he prepared "The Birds of America" and "The Quadrupeds of America." He was a member of numerous scientific societies and numbered among his correspondents such men as Humboldt and Agassiz.

No other man on that territory has greater claims on the reverent memory of his church than David F. Bittle, D. D. His self-sacrificing and successful labors as President of Roanoke College, his indomitable, world-conquering faith, his pulpit unction and power, and exalted Christian character, place his name on the scroll of immortality.

CHAPTER XV.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH AND CULTURE.

THE first to liberate the human mind from mediæval darkness and error, the Lutheran Church has always fostered thorough intellectual culture. She is distinguished as "the church of theologians." Her scholars were the principal teachers of Christendom in the sixteenth century, and they have within the present century restored the glories of the best age of Christian learning. "Her wonderful literature, her great universities, her systems of popular education are felt by the world."

The Reformation under Luther made an epoch in education as well as in religion. The debasing superstitions against which the battle was waged derived their strength from ignorance. A reforming Church must spread the light of knowledge. Recovering her true character the Church cannot be unmindful of her function as teacher. She kindles the highest powers of the human mind and then employs them to enlighten the world. Education is at once her duty and the most effective instrumentality for extending her sway.

The Lutheran Church took organic form with this instrument in her hands. Her cause was from the outset the cause of learning. She arose into distinctive being, identified with the highest educational institutions. The Reformers, every man of them, occu-

pied university chairs. The superiority of her doctors became a current argument for her doctrine. Wittenberg was the focus of the grand revolution. In its lecture-rooms, and a little later in those of Leipsic, Jena, and Tübingen, were found freedom of inquiry and freedom of teaching, and thence shone forth the living rays which turned the darkness into light.

While sustaining and developing those illustrious institutions which are still the pride of Europe, and to which the learned men of England and America ever repair to complete their education, the genius of Lutheranism has been equally zealous in establishing schools for the masses. Luther's writings and especially his translation of the Bible set the people to reading, made them eager for knowledge, and with the new energy awakened in every sphere prepared them for those measures of general instruction to which the Reformers gave their earnest attention. Popular education dates from the Reformation, and certainly no other countries have furnished such thorough, generous and universal systems of instruction as those in which the Lutheran creed has been predominant. There are no illiterates in Lutheran lands. Other nations have from ten to eighty per cent.

This jewel was happily not lost in the trying process of transplanting the church into a new world. The earliest preachers had received a liberal training. Of the Swedish pastors of the seventeenth century, it is recorded that with few exceptions they were men of liberal culture, "eminent alike for learning, pulpit power and fervent piety." Acrelius and von Wrangel of the last century were "distinguished and scholarly

men." The patriarch Muhlenberg and a number of his colleagues could speak fluently a half dozen languages, including ancient and modern. Long before the Lutheran Church was able to found academic institutions, a number of her clergy received the title of Doctor of Divinity from the colleges of other denominations. Some of them were elected College Trustees and such was their recognized zeal in the cause of science that they were specially welcomed to commencements and enrolled among the learned societies of America and Europe.

Dr. Kunze's varied acquirements made him "an ornament of the American republic of letters." He was professor of Oriental languages in Columbia College, having in that domain no superior in America, and doing more than any other individual of his day "to promote a taste for Hebrew literature." "He was deservedly recognized as among the very first of scholars, and cherished by the learned and liberal of every denomination as an example of the refined influence which elevated pursuits so uniformly stamp on human character."

Dr. Helmuth, who succeeded him as Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, "had a richly endowed and well cultivated mind," and published a volume of hymns, and other religious works. His colleague, Rev. J. F. Schmidt, was an accomplished astronomer and mathematician. H. E. Muhlenberg, besides being a profound theologian, an original thinker, a celebrated Orientalist, and a proficient in almost every department of science and literature, made a specialty of Natural History, in particular of

Botany, in which he became an authority and gained the title of "the American Linnæus." He carried on an extensive correspondence with the foremost naturalists of Europe, and through the newspapers and other publications contributed much to the progress of Natural Science. He was a member of the American Philosophical Society and quite a number of philosophical and physical societies in Europe.

That the Lutheran people of the last century were generally not illiterate, is pretty clearly indicated by the fact that half of Franklin's printing of books and purely literary matter was for the Germans.

The fathers had received their culture at European Universities. Unfortunately the first generation of native ministers could enjoy no such facilities. Repeated efforts to found higher institutions had proved abortive, or perished in the storms of the Revolution, and the Church did not control a single classical or theological school, excepting the share she had in Franklin College, founded in 1787. This was due to the straitened circumstances of the people and above all to the language problem. A German institution would have been under the circumstances an exotic, repelling the patronage of Americans. And an English institution could not be maintained until the Lutheran population had become more thoroughly anglicised.

In theory the Church always asserted a high standard of training for her ministers. No young man said the General Synod at its first meeting, is to be admitted to the study of theology before he has obtained a diploma or its equivalent. And she has at all

times been honored with a fair proportion of learned divines whose range of culture placed them alongside of the foremost scholars of the country. We need but instance the Schaeffers, Schmuckers, Krauths, Storks, Dr. P. F. Mayer, Dr. John Bachman, and Profs. M. Jacobs, H. L. Baugher and M. L. Stoever, three men whose solid attainments and whose abiding success in raising Pennsylvania College to its honorable rank, were only paralleled by their self-sacrifice to the cause of higher Christian education. That leaders of such power and prominence had as a rule received their own training where another faith prevailed, is a circumstance not to be overlooked in studying the tendencies of their day, and its lesson should never be forgotten.

While the founding of institutions for higher culture had of necessity to be delayed until colleges of other denominations had been maintained for one or even two centuries, the instruction of the children was from the beginning made a leading function of the Church. The first Lutherans brought with them from the fatherland the parish school, and, straitened and widely dispersed as they were, they could no more dispense with these Christian nurseries for their children than with the Church itself. A congregation without its school was not to be thought of. Even when there was no pastor, the congregation must secure a teacher. Beside the rude log church a school-house always arose, and it is suggestive that Muhlenberg, who is said to have never lost sight of the training of the children, and who at first personally gave instructions in the rudiments, built a school-

house at the Trappe even before he began the erection of a house of worship. Significant likewise, is the fact that the second topic which engaged the attention of the first synodical meeting "was the condition of the Parochial Schools; each pastor laid before the Synod the actual state, the wants and prospects of his school."

Our fathers held that the young should be trained inside the church and not outside of it; that education should be in the hands of Christian teachers, should be seasoned and conserved with the Gospel, should include the moral as well as the intellectual nature, and that it is a function worthy of and incumbent on the pastor, who indeed was often the main if not the sole teacher of the parish school. What the Church has gained by abandoning this institution and leaving her children to the mercy of secular education, is a question of no little consequence. It should be carefully pondered along with the more general inquiry as to the measure of advantage which any church derives from the surrender of inherited blessings for the sake of conforming to other denominations and keeping in line with the spirit of the times.

In these schools the children were thoroughly indoctrinated in God's Word, as well as taught the elements of a secular education. Receiving religious instruction from competent teachers six days of the week, they became rooted in the faith of the Church, and laid the foundations of those solid virtues for which the Lutheran people were always distinguished. Prior to the establishment of the common schools the Pennsylvania Synod had hundreds of these church schools.

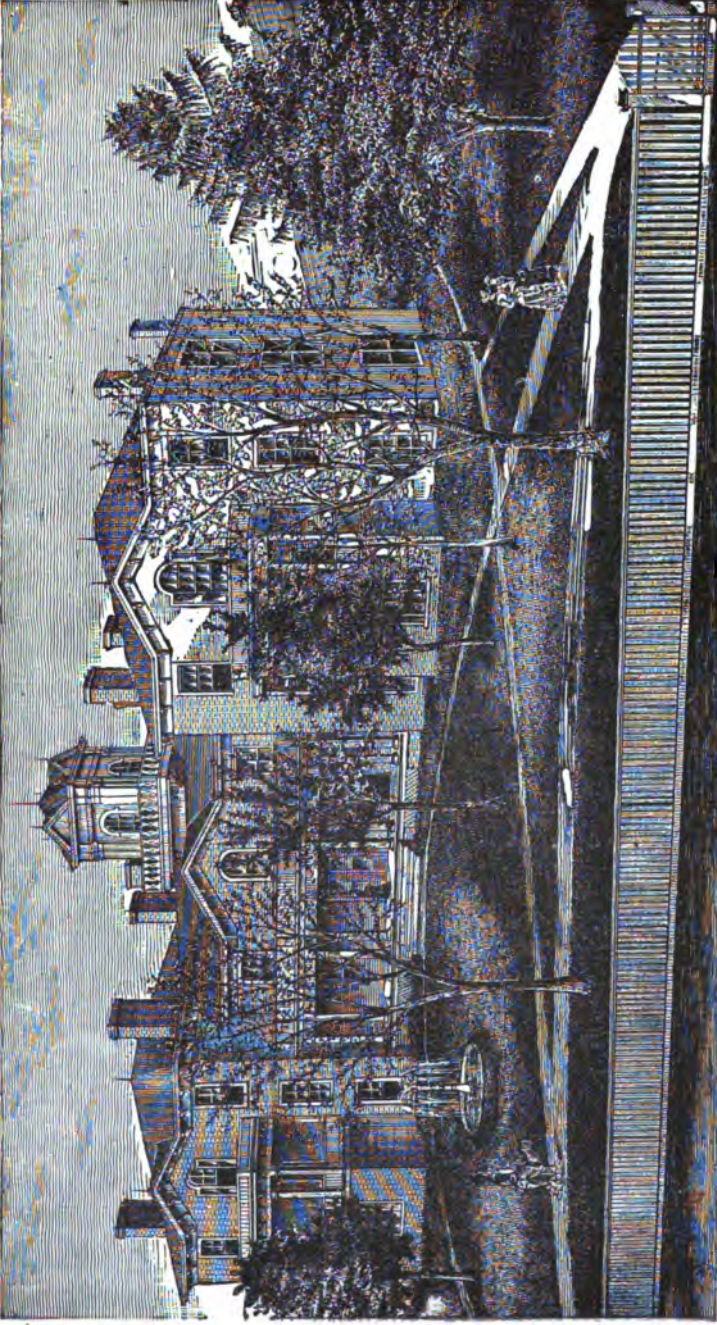
The corporation of Zion Church, Philadelphia, maintained four, and their grand work was at one time recognized by the donation of five thousand acres of land from the State of Pennsylvania.

It costs a pang to write here that, so far as known, hardly a solitary parish school exists to-day in the English portion of the Lutheran Church, although its poignancy is somewhat relieved by the knowledge that several thousand are maintained by the German and Scandinavian congregations.

While holding that all education should have a Christian character, and conforming, in the days of her poverty, her universal practice to this ideal, the crowning feature of the Lutheran Church is her system of specific Christian instruction to the young. The book she prizes next to Holy Scriptures is her Catechism, a treasure not equalled in any other church, and which is said to have the widest circulation of any uninspired volume.

A minister without this Catechism is an anomaly in the Lutheran Church. He is out of his element. He has missed his calling. An unfailing tribute paid by every historian to the fathers, is their fidelity in catechisation and their success in preparing by this means candidates for confirmation. No work of greater spiritual power is on record anywhere. To these instructions thousands attributed their conversion. To them is to be ascribed in large measure the revived and blooming state of the Church in their day.

Whatever derelictions may have since then been chargeable to individuals, or to measures in conflict with the Lutheran system, neither the leaders of the



STAUNTON FEMALE SEMINARY, STAUNTON, VA.

Church nor any of its bodies have ever failed to bear their testimony to this invaluable medium of saving the young and preserving the Church of God. One of the first acts of the General Synod was the appointment of a committee to prepare a Catechism, "the present state of the church requiring an English edition." A report presented to the General Synod at York, 1835, declares: "If it had not been for that excellent course of lectures, which is given to our young people preparatory to confirmation, our people would in a great measure, have remained altogether strangers to the power of godliness." Dr. Hazelius in his History of the American Lutheran Church, 1845, observes: "Many of us still remember the time when remissness in the religious instruction of children was a fault in our preachers, seldom discovered but least forgiven; and can we forget, that this instruction peculiar to the German churches created so strong an attachment to the Church that it almost amounted to a fault? This instruction is now sparingly imparted, and what is the consequence? The attachment to the church has been weakened so much that the causes of this alarming fact have frequently been made the subject of inquiry in our church paper, and we are sorry to say that among all the causes assigned, we have missed the one which is at the root of the evil, viz.: *'The remissness of many of our pastors in the religious instruction of youths?'*"

One of the most laudable features of Lutheran educational work is the care of the orphan. By no other sign does she more clearly testify that she has the spirit of God "in whom the fatherless findeth mercy."

When we recall the instrumentalities by which the Lutheran Church came into organic being in America, it may be said that she had her birth in an Orphan House. That glorious institution at Halle communicated the breath of life to the unorganized mass ready to perish on these shores, and from that same fountain the Church was nursed for fifty years. The great preachers of that period were graduates of that orphanage. It is therefore not surprising to read that "one feature marked all the early Lutheran preachers, their attention to the young, the poor, the sick, and especially the widow and orphan."

The Salzburgers had hardly erected their own homes in the savannas of Georgia, when in 1742 they founded an Orphan House with four boys and four girls. The same institution became also an asylum for the sick, and received the warm sympathy and substantial support of Whitfield, whose own attempt at a similar institution in Savannah was doomed to failure.

The charge of the orphan, like some other important trusts, experienced for some time a melancholy neglect, but with the revival, latterly, of a better church life, a new impulse has also been given to this humane and godly work. At least thirty-three Orphan Homes throughout the country are now supported by the Lutherans—eight by the Missouri Synod, six by the Swedish Augustana, two by the Iowa. Some are not specially connected with any Synod.

In connection with the orphanages, mention can simply be made of the hospitals, about ten in number, and the Deaconess Institutes, the most splendid of which is the "Mary J. Drexel Home and Philadelphia

Mother-house of Deaconesses." The building consists of a central edifice two hundred and fifty feet long and two wings connected with it at right angles, each two hundred feet in length, the gift of John D. Lankenau, Esq., who has also pledged himself for its maintenance as long as he lives.

The courage, the struggles and the self-sacrifice by means of which some twenty-one theological seminaries and as many colleges have been built up, and the work these are doing for the education of youth



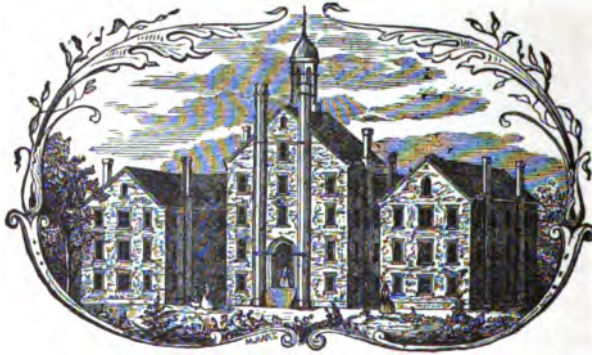
CARTHAGE COLLEGE, CARTHAGE, ILL.

to serve in the holy office and in other influential stations, would occupy a volume. Reference to all but a few may be found in other chapters. Wittenberg College, at Springfield, Ohio, is a worthy monument of Ezra Keller, D. D., whose services in pioneer work both in the sphere of religion and education can hardly be overestimated. Carthage College, at Carthage, Ill.,

and Midland College, at Atchison, Kan., have but recently come into being under the auspices of the General Synod. They encounter the usual trials of such schools, but they command the sympathy and support of that body, and from whatever point they may be judged can no longer be regarded as experiments. The Female Seminaries at Hagerstown, Lutherville and Mechanicsburg are on the territory of the General Synod, but receive patronage from all portions of the church.

Fourteen years ago an incomplete list of Lutheran publications made a considerable volume, compiled under the name of *Bibliotheca Lutherana*, by Dr. Morris. Since then a large number of valuable works have been added, and although no other ministers have as laborious a lot as the Lutheran, and although some of the ablest men of the Church, like Drs. C. P. Krauth, Sr., J. A. Brown, and C. A. Stork, have left nothing more permanent and complete than Review articles, yet the array of Lutheran literature makes a substantial library. The first known publication by a Lutheran in America was a volume entitled "Grondlycke Onderricht von sekere Voorname Hoofdstucken der Waren, Loutern, Saligmakenden Christelycken Leere, etc., by Justus Falckner, in 1708. Schmucker's translation of Storr and Flatt's Biblical Theology, in 1826, became a text-book in seminaries of other churches. His Popular Theology passed through nine editions. Siess' works have a world-wide fame. Their titles fill many pages. Valentine's Natural Theology is a text-book in a number of American colleges. C. F. Schaeffer's translation of Kurtz's Sacred History has been extensively used as

a text-book in theological seminaries. Krauth's *Conservative Reformation* is the masterpiece of Lutheran authorship in this country. Sprecher's *Groundwork of Lutheran Theology* is a work of rare ability. Ziegler's *Catechetics*, *The Preacher*, and *The Pastor*, are valuable manuals for the clergy. Harkey's *Justification by Faith* should be in every home. Dr. Mann's literary activity covers, besides valuable English and German volumes, a wide field in the periodical literature of America and Europe. Theophilus Stork, B.



LUTHERVILLE FEMALE SEMINARY, LUTHERVILLE, Md.

Kurtz, Greenwald, C. W. Schaeffer, Spaeth, Morris, Rhodes, and Gerberding have enriched the devotional literature of the church. Profs. Schodde and Weidner have published valuable contributions to theological science. The latter's *Introductory N. T. Greek Method* is adopted in a number of seminaries. Walther's "*Kirche und Amt*," "*Evangelien-Postille*," "*Epistel-Postille*," and "*Pastoral Theologie*," have passed through many editions. Seyffarth, that prodigy of learning, wrote numerous volumes on Egyptology, Chronology, etc. Bachman's fame rests largely on

his contributions to Natural History. Profs. L. M. Haupt and S. P. Sadtler have won high distinction in the ranks of scientific scholarship. Among the most important issues are the translation of Schmidt's Dogmatik of the Lutheran Church, by Drs. Hay and Jacobs, an English edition of the Book of Concord, with companion volume giving Historical Introduction, Notes, Appendixes and Index, by Jacobs, and a revised edition of Walch's "Luther's Sammtliche Schriften," by the Faculty of Concordia Seminary.

The first periodical published was "Das Evangelische Magazin," founded by Dr. Helmuth. "The Lutheran Intelligencer" began in 1826, with D. F. Schaeffer as editor. It was afterwards changed to the "Lutheran Observer." "The Literary Record," a journal formerly published by the Linnæan Association of Pennsylvania College, was a scientific journal of great merit. "The Lutheran Standard" was begun in 1841. "The Lutheran Quarterly" succeeded in 1871. "The Evangelical Review," which was founded in 1849. "The Lutheran Church Review" was founded in 1882. "The Lutheran," "The Lutheran Evangelist," "The Lutheran Visitor," "Our Church Paper" are the other English weeklies. "The Workman" and "The Lutheran Witness" are bi-monthly. "The Lutheran Home," "The Theological Magazine," "The Augsburg Teacher," "The Church Messenger," and "The Young Lutheran" are monthlies. Besides these are a number of children's papers, some fifty German periodicals and nearly as many Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Finnish and Icelandic messengers of light and strength that regularly visit the tabernacles of godly Lutherans.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH AND MISSIONS.

AN American historian of reputed learning and fairness says: "The conversion of the heathen occupied no place in the thoughts of the great leader of the Reformation. The followers of Luther for more than a century entertained the same prejudice against missions." This is a fair specimen of the misrepresentations of the Lutheran Church.

The truth on this point is stated in Herzog's Real-Encyclopaedie: "Luther himself already seizes every opportunity offered by a text of the divine Word in order to remind believers of the distress of 'the Heathen and the Turks' and earnestly urges them to pray in their behalf and to send out missionaries to them. In accord with him all the prominent theologians and preachers of his day and of the succeeding period inculcated the missionary duty of the Church. Many also of the Evangelical princes cherished this work with Christian love and zeal." It was the Reformation with its new spiritual life that once more revived missionary operations which had entirely ceased in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the labors of the Lutheran Church were the earliest in that sphere as they have been the most productive. "All missions, Catholic and Protestant alike, with the benefits of every sort they bring us, are in several important senses a debt which Christendom owes to Mar-



FATHER HEYER.

tin Luther." So says a learned representative of a great missionary church. If the Reformers failed to organize any movement for the conversion of the heathen world, this failure might be sufficiently accounted for by the prevailing heathenism which had become rank within the limits of the Church, and the uprooting of which taxed all their thoughts and energies. But it must further be borne in mind that the Protestant nations had no means of communication with heathen countries. The hegemony of the seas was during that century in the hands of the Catholic powers, Spain and Portugal, while Lutheran Germany had neither commerce nor colonies, the indispensable prerequisites in that day for the prosecution of missions outside the pale of Christendom. Geographical openings are quite as necessary to the spread of the Gospel as the zeal inspired by the Lord's command and the love of humanity. It is the testimony of one of the most devoted living missionary champions that "the time had not come for Protestant missions." Self-sacrificing love and the heroism of faith were present, but the obstacles were insuperable.

What manner of spirit was begotten from the first by the Lutheran Reformation is attested by the establishment of the first Protestant mission, by Gustavus Vasa, as early as 1559, for the conversion of the heathen Lapps in the extreme North of Sweden, and by the noble efforts of his successors for the prosperity of this mission. Where contiguous territory did not offer a heathen population for evangelization, Christian princes like Christopher of Würtemberg and Ernst the Pious, Duke of Saxe-Gotha, exhibited an

apostolic zeal for the general diffusion of evangelical doctrine. To the latter belongs the honor of introducing the Lutheran faith into Russia.

The Thirty Years' War prostrated and desolated Germany, so that in the seventeenth century foreign missionary enterprises were absolutely impossible. Yet the spirit of missions lived and a circle of jurists in Lübeck "bound themselves to obedience to the missionary mandate," and one of them, Peter Heyling, went in 1635 as far as Abyssinia, where he translated the New Testament into the Amchar language, gained access to the court and became minister to the King. The ultimate fate of his mission remains unknown. A generation later, Baron von Welz issued several stirring appeals to all "Orthodox Christians of the Augsburg Confession," for the formation of a Society for the spread of the Evangelical Religion, urging the establishment at every University of a faculty of missions, and the preparation of students for work among the heathen. He appropriated 36,000 marks for missions and set out for Dutch Guinea where he soon died. The great Leibnitz conceived such an enthusiasm for missions that "he designated China as a suitable field whither Lutheran missionaries ought to go, and even incorporated these thoughts in the constitution of the Berlin Academy of Sciences."

Denmark was the first Lutheran state to take her place among the maritime nations. This was in the seventeenth century. The way to heathen peoples was now for the first time opened to the Lutheran Church. And simultaneously the rise of Pietism with its revival of practical Christianity awakened a new

and decided interest in the salvation of the heathen. Lütken, the Court-preacher at Copenhagen, had long sustained a friendly intercourse with Spener and Francke, when his King, Frederick IV., commissioned him to engage missionaries for foreign lands. He selected two pietist students at Halle, Ziegenbalg and Plütschau, who sailed for Tranquebar, India, in July, 1706. The material support for the mission came from the Lutheran King of Denmark, its spiritual direction from Halle and especially its great



LUTHERAN MISSION CHURCH, GUNTUR, INDIA.

leader, Augustus Herman Francke, who seems to have gotten the first impulse toward heathen evangelization from Leibnitz. His mind once kindled with missionary ardor became remarkably active in the cause. As founder of the Orphan House at Halle he was indeed "providentially fitted to induce a spirit of devotion in young missionaries, and to develop a missionary constituency at home." Halle was from thenceforth the centre of mission activity for the heathen.

Ziegenbalg, "the parent of Eastern missions," translated the New Testament into the Tamul language. The mission spread into the English possessions. Re-enforced from time to time by a number of excellent missionaries from the Halle Orphan House, chief among whom was Christian Friedrich Schwartz, "the patriarch of Lutheran missions," it attained great prosperity, resulted in 40,000 conversions, and prepared the way for the successful evangelization of India during the present century.

It does not fall within the scope of this work to trace the growth and extent of missionary operations by the Lutherans of Europe, but as the charge of indifference to heathen evangelization has found its way into historical works, it becomes a duty to state here that the Lutheran Church was carrying forward on a vast scale a successful mission in India one hundred years before any of the English Churches had a single missionary station in heathen lands. "With the grand opportunities afforded by its colonies, and domination on the seas, England did next to nothing, during the eighteenth century for missions." It was from Lutheran Halle that "missionary zeal spread over other countries and other denominations."

As the diffusion of the Scriptures is an essential feature of missions, it is due to the truth to record here the fact that in this sphere also the work of the Lutheran Church antedates the efforts of other churches by a hundred years. The British and Foreign Bible Society was organized in London, March 7, 1804. And this is tritely claimed as the first institution of the kind, whereas the Canstein Biblical Insti-

tute, founded at Halle by the private fortune of Baron von Canstein, began its blessed work in 1710, and has since circulated many millions of copies of Holy Writ. Thousands of the early Lutherans in this country had in their possession the Bibles of this institute for generations before the idea of any other Bible Society was conceived.

The Swedish colonization of America, it has been already noted, was distinctively a missionary project. And the earliest Lutheran pastors on these shores were among the first, if not absolutely the first, to proclaim the knowledge of God to the aborigines, as Luther's Catechism was the first book ever translated into their language. And Muhlenberg's spiritual interest in the slaves is among the earliest instances of such sympathy with that class in Pennsylvania.

For two hundred years all was missionary work in this western world. Tranberg and other Swedish pastors impaired their health and shortened their lives by extending their ministrations to the Episcopalians and German Lutherans whom they found in forlorn spiritual destitution. Whether those devoted men had their own local congregations or not, they were journeying to and fro, across forests, streams and mountains, enduring exposure, hardships, perils and sufferings, seldom surpassed by the most thrilling records of self-sacrifice among the heathen. They were quite justly called "the missionaries." Let Dr. von Wrangel's course as described by Muhlenberg in 1762 serve as an illustration: "He preaches on Sunday in the forenoon in Swedish in his own Church (Wicacoa); in the afternoon he goes on horseback a

distance of six miles to a congregation on the other side of the Schuylkill, and delivers a second sermon; in the evening he again preaches in his own church, and this third time in English. Every fourth week he undertakes a laborious tour through the province of Jersey to his destitute congregations. Through the week-days he visits other scattered outposts of his church, goes from place to place, holds catechisation



LUTHERAN MISSION HOUSE, RAJAHMUNDY, INDIA.

in the houses, and in spite of his indescribable labors and exertions among his dispersed sheep, he is willing from time to time to visit the destitute flocks of poor German Lutherans, and to bring joy by administering to them the means of grace, although he could give convincing proofs that he has laid upon him more than enough work among his own nation." This apostolic portrait could be duplicated many times. by men who with unquenchable zeal journeyed over immense distances and sought from day to day in

English, German, Swedish and French, to minister to all classes, giving their especial care to the sick, the poor and the inmates of prisons.

The Church here was born of the spirit of missions. Her life was nursed for years from the bosom of the mother churches of Europe. And although she has at times faltered under great obstacles or blighting indifference, she has never wholly forgotten the command, "freely ye have received, freely give."

On the first occasion of a general assemblage of the church, at the convention in 1820, a committee was appointed "to form a plan for a Missionary Institution." And the first meeting of the General Synod earnestly urged the District Synods to send out missionaries. If sometimes disposed to lament that more extensive operations were not undertaken, we should remember that at no time did they have sufficient ministers "to fill the vacancies of their immediate neighborhoods." Serving so many congregations that they could give them only one sermon in four weeks, it is very evident that "a more efficient and sufficient supply of pastors" was demanded, before a large number could go to the destitute regions of the country or any be sent to the heathen. Already in the last century "the old synod appointed some itinerant preachers to visit for a month or two new settlements about the skirts of our country, and similar exertions were made in almost every synod established since," but those who engaged in this work had to take the time from their own congregations, which were but half-supplied before. Such was the missionary activity of all the synods for more than a generation, and to

this activity, desultory and unorganized as it was, the church is largely indebted for its power and influence in many parts of the country.

The first issue of an English journal, in 1826, had an article on Missions, and so had every subsequent issue of that year, a symptom of the spirit that prevailed in the church and which had long been nurtured in congregational and synodical societies. In 1835 the General Synod set apart an hour on the first Monday in every month, "in the evening at early candlelight for concert prayer in all our congregations, to petition the Lord for an outpouring of his Holy Spirit on our churches—that He would call more laborers into the harvest, and revive a missionary spirit in us and our congregations." At this same meeting an expression of feeling was asked from the District Synods respecting the establishment of a Foreign Mission.

In 1836 the Pennsylvania Synod formed itself into a Mission Society for propagating the Gospel among the destitute portions of the Lutheran Church in America and "ultimately to co-operate in sending it to the heathen world."

A Central Home Missionary Society was organized the same year at Mechanicsburg, and a "German Foreign Mission Society" the year following, in connection with the meeting of the General Synod at Hagerstown. Besides the members of the latter body, forty-four delegates were present. Every Synod except the Ohio and the Tennessee was represented in the convention, great enthusiasm prevailed, and a collection of \$300.00 was lifted. A wide-spread interest in

the cause was soon awakened. At the first anniversary of the Society, in 1839, several brethren indicated their willingness to go out as missionaries to the heathen under the auspices of this society.

The first person selected was Rev. C. F. Heyer, who as a missionary in Western Pennsylvania had exhibited those rare qualities of faith and self-denial, simplicity, energy and patience which form the requisites for the evangelization of heathen lands. He readily accepted the appointment, in 1841, but on discovering that he was to be placed under the supervision of the American Board, he returned his commission. He then wrote to the President of the Pennsylvania Synod's Missionary Society that he "preferred going into the heathen world under the the direction of an Evangelical Lutheran Missionary Society, rather than be dependent on other Christian denominations," and offered to go as their missionary, they to name the country for the mission, pay toward his travelling expenses whatever funds were in the treasury, while he himself would invest \$1,000 of his own property in support of the Mission. The committee to whom this letter was referred, found that there were "not sufficient means at hand to form and maintain a heathen mission," but "on motion of Dr. Demme, seconded by Dr. Baker, it was unanimously *Resolved*, That we in reliance on Divine Providence, commence a heathen mission," also that "we receive brother Heyer as missionary in our service." His offer of \$1,000 from his own purse was declined. The Executive Committee took immediate measures to send him to Guntur in the Madras Presidency, where

he arrived alone in the spring of 1842. The General Society having reconsidered its proposed connection with the American Board, sent out a year later, Rev. Walter Gunn to the same field. He was cordially welcomed by Rev. Heyer, as a fellow-laborer in the cultivation of that promising field which has since yielded an extraordinary harvest. The two societies adopted in 1845 a plan of Union, each remaining distinct, appointing and maintaining its own missionaries, but occupying the same district, "having but one interest and one aim in the foreign field, the joint mission to be known as "the American Lutheran Mission." Mr. Heyer remained in charge of the field for fourteen years, returning at the age of 65 to America. The mission then, 1857, embraced three principal stations, Guntur, Palnad and Rajahmundry, Samulcotta being added later. The Pennsylvania Synod having united with the General Synod, the direction of the mission devolved wholly upon the General Foreign Missionary Society. When this was so weakened by the division in 1866, as to be unable to carry the whole interest, it relinquished the Rajahmundry and Samulcotta stations. In 1869 the General Council undertook the care of these and Father Heyer, not far from eighty years of age, hastened once more to India to recover those fields and re-establish successful operations. Both bodies have since respectively prosecuted the work with zeal and vigor. And India has had no missions whose results are more gratifying.

The General Synod mission numbers in India today 11,387 communicants, gathered into 335 congregations. Besides the support of 7 missionaries it em-

employs 165 gospel workers, sustains 152 schools with 209 teachers and 4,108 pupils. The Watts Memorial College, toward which a single family contributed \$10,000, has just been established. For the foreign work \$82,404.71 were collected from April, 1887, to April, 1889.

The Council's mission reports a total of 80 workers, 1993 baptized Christians, and 767 pupils in the schools.



LUTHERAN MISSION HIGH SCHOOL, RAJAHMUNDRY, INDIA.

A mission was also founded in Africa, on the St. Paul's river, Liberia, in 1860, by Rev. M. Officer. The progress of this work, the self-devotion of the successive missionaries, some of whom sacrificed their lives in a deadly climate, the ever-widening influence of this fountain of grace in the desert, and the testimony of travellers to its blessed character, would cover many bright pages.

Other bodies co-operate either with these two General Bodies in Foreign Missions or with European Societies.

To the Home Mission work the Lutheran Church

has a peculiar call. Besides the ordinary opportunities for extending Christ's Kingdom through the constant expansion of the native population, there are annually coming to this country and spreading over every part of it, hundreds of thousands who have been baptized, instructed and confirmed by the Lutheran Church, and who require now her fostering care in order to be gathered again into her bosom. If they can but have a faithful Lutheran pastor they form, in a few years, flourishing congregations.

The General Synod has organized its work effectively, supporting annually over 100 missionaries and aiding in the erection of 30 to 40 church-buildings. The combined collections for both these causes for the biennium ending March 31, 1889, was \$125,000. The fund of the Church Extension Board amounts to \$133,320.

In the Council this work is only in part done by the three boards of the General Body, but its extent and success are likewise commendable. Not less than two hundred missionaries are laboring in different sections and among various nationalities, and the sum of \$50,000 is annually expended. The Joint Synod of Ohio reports thirty missions. The union of the Southern Synods has evidently quickened the missionary pulse in those parts, and the flourishing missions founded in several cities bespeak the increased activity that has set in. A vast work in this sphere is done by the Missourians, the Iowans, the Norwegians and others, the majority of their pastors being missionaries even where they serve also self-sustaining congregations, pushing the work in almost every town and city, the people being liberal in their offerings.

A children's Missionary Society under the auspices of the General Synod has been efficient both in stimulating interest and in raising funds. The most notable advance in this cause is the organization of the Women's Missionary Society within the same body, which on the occasion of its tenth anniversary discovered its collections to have reached the sum of \$100,000.

A few examples of successful missions are subjoined: Grace English Lutheran Church was organized in Baltimore, September 13, 1885, with forty-one members. Within four years that congregation has grown to 622 communicants, and conducts a Sunday-school numbering 650. It received aid from the boards for several years and now owns a property worth \$30,000, has an annual revenue of \$4,000 and contributes to benevolence \$500.

The Church of the Redeemer in Utica, N. Y., was organized April 27, 1879 with 28 communicants. To-day it numbers 400, with a "Sunday-school enrolment of about 325 and an almost equal number in its mission school." It has received no assistance from any Synod or mission board, owns a property that cost \$35,000 and has an annual income of between \$3,000 and \$4,000. The pastor of this congregation writes that there is a parallel to it at Buffalo, and that he assisted during the past year in organizing two missions in other cities of New York, "which bid fair to excel this record. None of the four have received any mission aid."

Other instances with results equally encouraging might be cited.

CHAPTER XVII.

OBLIGATIONS OF OTHER COMMUNIONS TO THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

SO great and so various is the debt which the Christian world owes by common consent to the Lutheran reformation that it is impossible to express the full extent of it. It broke the power of the papacy; it tore asunder the fetters of priestly rule; it restored the Church to her freedom; it put her once more in possession of the divine Scriptures. From Wittenberg as the centre the wave of reform swept onward until it reached the boundaries of Europe, purifying and reviving the Christianity of different nations. The writings of Luther and the disciples of Luther, as if wings had been given them from heaven, were found everywhere spreading the light of salvation by grace, and in an amazingly brief period a reformed church replaced the corrupt hierarchy throughout the greater part of Germany, in Denmark, Sweden and Norway, in a number of Swiss Cantons, in Hungary, Holland, England and Scotland.

The revolution from various causes took on a different form in some of these countries, and there soon came to be known besides the Evangelical Lutheran Church, the Episcopal, the Reformed, the Presbyterian, and later a number of other bodies, evolved from these, have successively taken their place among Christian denominations.

The Lutheran Church holds the preeminence over

all, first by the fact of her antedating every one by a number of years. She was so well recognized as a distinct factor long before the Reformation developed beyond her pale, that all the earliest reformers in every country were called Lutherans. But priority in time is a wholly inadequate exhibition of the relation between the Lutheran Church and others. That relation is genetic. It is the truism of history that the Lutheran is the parent Evangelical Church. She is the mother of Protestantism. Historically all other Evangelical Churches have sprung from her. Their presence is the expansion of the Lutheran Reformation. They owe their existence to the principles she so earnestly and triumphantly maintained, to her translation of the Bible, and to the saving doctrines her leaders proclaimed at the hazard of their lives. Her Confession, which was from the beginning clearly recognized as the genuine expression and symbol of her being, is the mother Confession, the standard of pure and original Protestantism, "the greatest of all the Reformed Confessions" says Bishop Bull, as well as the first. "It struck the keynote," says Dr. Schaff, "to the other Evangelical Confessions." And it is so broad, so comprehensive, so scriptural that it has at different times been signed or acknowledged by great Reformed Doctors and Princes, by Calvin, Farel, and Beza, by Frederick III. of the Palatinate, Sigismund of Brandenburg, and the Great Elector.

Inasmuch as nearly all the great Protestant Formulas are based upon the Augsburg Confession, the substance of it and often the language being incorporated into them, and inasmuch as it maintains that "in

doctrine and ceremonials among us there is nothing received contrary to Scripture or the Church Universal," the responsibility for putting forth tenets in conflict with this confession, promulgating other creeds and thereby organizing divisions in the Protestant host, does not lie with the Lutherans. They have not departed from the original Evangelical stream, others have. At the German Church Diet in Berlin, 1853, 1400 clergymen representing the Lutherans, Reformed, United and Moravians, joined in a public acknowledgment of this confession, testifying their agreement with it "as the oldest, simplest, common document of publicly recognized Evangelical doctrine in Germany."

The hope has often been expressed in other churches that "it may one day become the United Confession or Ecumenical Creed of all the Evangelical Churches in Germany." If broad enough to embrace the Evangelical Christendom of Germany, it must be sufficiently comprehensive for the Evangelical Christendom of the World. Such admissions on the part of intelligent Protestants are tantamount to the recognition of the Lutheran Church as the mother of them all. They have gone out from her, not she from them. She is not a "sister denomination." The sisters are her daughters. It is historically untrue, it is unjust and misleading, to represent the Lutheran Church as a branch of the Evangelical Church. She is the strong body, the massive and living trunk from which they all have sprung, and on which they still depend. Into these branches, their leaves, their bloom, their fruit, her life has been transfused. Her teachings, her literature, her hymns, her liturgies, have passed,

and continue directly or indirectly to pass, into these Churches beyond what many think or dream.

In the case of some communions, particularly the Church of England and her daughter, the Protestant Episcopal Church, this indebtedness is quite obvious and unquestioned. The English Reformation had its origin in the study of the writings of the Lutheran Reformers. Those given to reading German books at Oxford and Cambridge were called Lutherans.

Tyndale's New Testament, which is substantially our present authorized version, is largely dependent upon Luther's translation. His Pentateuch is even more dependent. Its first edition was published in Germany by Hans Luft, Luther's printer. The introductions and notes are nearly all literal translations of Luther.

Coverdale's Bible, where it does not appropriate Tyndale's is largely a translation of Leo Juda's Zurich version, which again is a revision of Luther. Rogers, the translator of Matthew's Bible, was for eleven years a Lutheran pastor. Conferences between the English theologians and the Lutherans were frequent and protracted, and during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. the Germans were pressed by letters and by legations to come to the assistance of the English in reforming the church. Melancthon, in recognition of his incalculable service to Lutheranism, was appointed Professor of Divinity in Cambridge University. He felt constrained to decline, but Bucer and others accepted similar positions of influence, and took a prominent part in preparing the formulas which embody the faith and worship of the Anglican Church. Lutheran principles and tendencies had from the first

predominated among the English and when they proceeded to a doctrinal reformation, the composition of a national creed, their XXXIX Articles, in the language of Archbishop Lawrence "were borrowed from a Lutheran creed." "In some instances," adds this great Episcopal authority, "it amounts to a direct transcript of whole passages and entire extracts, without the slightest omission or unimportant variation." Speaking of the X Articles which appeared after the negotiations in London, 1538, between Myconius and the English Bishops, the same author says: "In the whole of these articles the ideas and language of the Lutheran divines have been closely followed. Many of the forty-two articles (afterwards reduced to thirty-nine) owe their origin to the same source, and even those which cannot be traced with certainty exhibit a correspondence with the general opinions of the German divines."

And again: "Our Reformers * * * chose to give reputation to their opinions and stability to their system by adopting * * * Lutheran sentiments and expressing themselves in Lutheran language," "purely Lutheran," "couched in the very expressions of the Lutheran creed." Of Cranmer he says: "From the Lutherans he had learned almost everything, which he deemed great and good in reformation."

Bishop Bull says: "the meaning of our articles can scarcely be perceived" by any one who is ignorant of their source. And Bishop Whittingham: "the Augsburg Confession is the source of the XXXIX Articles, their prototype in form, their model in doctrine, and the very foundation of many of their expressions."

The origin of the "Book of Common Prayer" is likewise to be credited to Lutheran agencies. The Lutherans had revised, purified and translated the services of the ancient Church, and the Lutheran revision had been issued in many editions before the revision of the old service was undertaken across the channel. And when the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. was brought out, it presented very few divergences from the Lu-



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theran service. "The offices of our Church," says Archbishop Lawrence again, "were completely reformed after the temperate system of Luther." The successive stages of this are easily traced. The Missals in use in England, from which the English revision and translation were made, agreed very closely with those used in Germany, from which the Lutheran Liturgies were prepared. With the latter Cranmer, by his sojourn in Germany in 1533, had grown quite

familiar, and especially with the Order of Brandenburg-Nürnberg, having married the niece of Osiander, who with Brentz prepared that Order. Melancthon and Bucer drew up subsequently, 1543, a service for the Archbishopric of Cologne, which was in great degree conformed to that of Nürnberg, and "from this work" says Lawrence: "All our offices bear evident marks of having been partly taken. * * In our Baptismal Service, the resemblance between the two productions is particularly striking." Thus, as Hardwick admits, though the Book of Common Prayer has been mainly derived from the ancient and Mediaeval Liturgies it has been "in no inconsiderable degree through the medium of a Lutheran Compilation."

The first Anglican Catechism was a literal translation by Cranmer in 1548, of the *Kinder-Predigten* of the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Kirchen-Ordnung, which Justus Jonas had translated into Latin. And what is known as the Catechism of the Church of England was prepared from Brentz's with suggestions from Cranmer's Nürnberg Catechism.

The great Methodist Church is commonly viewed as an offshoot of the Episcopal Church. This very fact goes to reveal its indirect dependence upon the Lutheran Church. But since the XXV articles which embody the doctrines of that body are in language and substance almost identical with the XXXIX of the Church of England, they are readily traced to their original source. "They are only remoter issues from the same Lutheran fountain." But Methodism has a more direct indebtedness to Lutheranism. It

is beholden to the Lutheran Church for the spiritual birth of its founder. Sailing to Georgia in 1735 on a vessel which carried a number of Salzburger, who in the fierceness of the storm and the extremity of human distress were kept in perfect peace, Wesley realized that his religion was destitute of the calm, confiding, and joyous spirit which made these Lutherans sing praises to God, when every other heart "was quaking and some were almost dead with terror." Wesley had been accustomed to legalistic bondage and Puritan austerities. He had sought salvation by "the works of the law," but strange feelings were aroused in his heart, when he found a company of men, women and children who knew no fear. It was a revelation to him of the import and power of the Gospel. Even then he did not attain the personal experience of the heavenly gift, but when he returned to London and listened there in a Moravian meeting to the reading of Luther's Preface to the Epistle to the Romans, he passed suddenly from darkness into light. "I felt" he wrote "my heart strangely warmed, I felt I did trust in Christ alone for salvation."

The Presbyterian and other Calvinistic bodies "have always looked upon Luther and the Lutherans as the authors of their Reformation." Bossuet says: "All the Calvinists, Germans, English, Hungarians, Poles, Dutch and all others, in general, who assembled at Frankfort, through the influence of Queen Elizabeth, all these having acknowledged those of the Confession of Augsburg, namely, the Lutherans, as the first who gave a new birth to the Church, acknowledge also the Confession of Augsburg as common to the whole

party." And Turretin, speaking of the concurrence of the Reformed Calvinists with the Lutherans, says it is evident "from the Augsburg Confession alone, which both parties admit, and to which both desire to be regarded as adherents."

The German Reformed Church grew out of the Melancthonian development in South Germany, where Frederick III., appealing to Melancthon and the altered Augsburg Confession in defense of his Lutheran orthodoxy, charged two men Ursinus and Olevianus, the former an adherent of Melancthon, to draw up what is known as the Heidelberg Catechism, which is recognized in Germany and in this country as the doctrinal standard of that communion. The Moravians, a name made glorious by devoted and heroic missionary zeal, hold to the Augsburg Confession as their only symbol of doctrine.

Rightly and truly, therefore, the great Protestant communions are bound to look upon the Lutheran Church as the mother of them all. And this historical and vital relation has not been sundered, though it is often ignored. The biblical and theological treasures of the Lutheran Church, though recoined in the transition, form the richest element of the religious literature of Protestantism. And the distinguished teachers of the great theological seminaries throughout this land have, almost without exception, sat at the feet of the learned Lutheran Professors in the German Universities. "Evangelical Christendom owes more to the Lutherans, for everything pure, blessed and great in its religion, than to any other class of men since the Apostles fell asleep."

CHAPTER XVIII.

DISTINGUISHING DOCTRINES AND FEATURES OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH.

HOW other churches have drawn from the Lutheran much of what is best in their systems is in part exhibited in the foregoing chapter. In their departure from her they have, however, not carried with them every important element of the parent church. The life in the trunk has not passed in all its richness into the branches. Or it has been so modified as to show in the branches a different and distinctive form. It would be an easy task to note these variations which the branches respectively have developed; nevertheless, it is in accordance with the logic of history to speak of the doctrines and features which distinguish the Lutheran system. They may be summarized under the one idea of comprehensiveness. The Lutheran Church is characterized by a breadth, a fullness, an inclusiveness known to no other. She has much that other communions do not have. Their differentiation is due to their leaving or losing, denying or abridging some of her excellences. They are poorer, narrower, incomplete. They represent avowedly or logically, a curtailment of the riches of grace, a limitation of its benefits, a lowering of its efficacy. The Lutheran Church accepts and holds the whole truth of the Scriptures, with its normal historic development. In and with this truth, she knows, is the Holy Spirit, so that wherever presented, in Word or

Sacrament, it brings salvation to every one who does not make it of none effect through unbelief. As she does not sever the Spirit from the Word, neither does she take away aught from the consensus of the Church, from the Person of Christ, the mercy of God, the offer of salvation, or the content of the Sacraments. Her doctrines are in every way richer, her distinctive life fuller and more complete, all embracing and many-sided as the grace of the Holy Ghost.

Standing midway between Rome and ultra-Protestantism, maintaining doctrines that separate her from both, while holding to the ecumenical creeds which unite her to both, the Evangelical Lutheran Church differs fundamentally from the Roman Catholic: *First*, In receiving the Scriptures of the old and New Testaments as sole and sufficient authority for belief and life; *Second*, In ascribing salvation wholly to the mercy of God. Then she differs from all others who in any way limit mercy or make grace contingent upon aught but Word and Sacrament. Such is the abounding magnitude of divine grace, such is its freeness, that the greatest sinner has direct access to its fountains. It is of no moment to him whether he who offers him absolution received Episcopal or Presbyterian ordination, or no ordination at all. The validity of Baptism, the reality of Christ's Presence, the power of the Gospel, the work of the Holy Ghost, are not dependent on any ecclesiastical legitimacy. Salvation comes through the means of grace in accordance with the promises, which are not bound to any sacerdotal order, line of succession or legalistic conditions. And indeed such is the measureless amplitude of God's

mercy, that all efforts either to supplement or purchase, or in any other way to limit or condition it, are at war with its essential character.

Now, according to the tenets of one denomination the believer cannot feel assured of his salvation unless grace has come to him through the right channel; the Gospel and the Sacraments in which it is visibly offered, counting for nothing, it would seem, unless dispensed by one whose credentials bear the stamp of the "Historic Episcopate."

According to those of some others all the promises and provisions of grace have no meaning except to such as by a secret election in eternity were chosen to become its subjects.

In another the salvation of the soul is in some degree jeopardized if the entire body was not immersed in the waters of Baptism.

In yet another quarter, God's Word, the Sacraments, the atonement, and the hidden work of the Spirit, avail nought until you can evidence your conversion by an inward consciousness, supposed to be an unfailing proof of regeneration, while others put such stress upon personal efforts and such reliance upon repentance and reformation that salvation is made largely the outcome of such exercises.

To Lutherans the boundless mercy of God leaves need for nothing more. All our need is complete in Christ. Man gives nothing. He only receives. Faith is receiving. And in the exercise of faith pardon is realized and a new life is begotten in him by the Holy Ghost.

This curtailing and restricting of grace meet us under various forms. It is seen in the limited atonement

which is one of the five points of Calvinism, whereas Lutheranism holds with the Scriptures that Christ is "the propitiation for the sins of the whole world."

It is seen in the withholding of Baptism from little children, whereas Lutherans, in common with the great historic churches, draw no line and raise no barriers at this gateway of the Church, but bring their offspring to the font, believing that being offered to God by Baptism "they are received into God's favor" and made subjects of the quickening Spirit. The Church shuts out no one, not even babes, from its blessings.

It appears particularly in the denial of sacramental grace, which separates what God has joined together. The Sacraments are reduced to empty signs and memorials, Baptism being merely a symbol of spiritual washing, the Supper merely a remembrance of Christ's death. Lutherans while acknowledging them as signs and memorials, lay chief stress upon them as vehicles and bearers of grace, through which the ascended Lord comes into contact with the individual soul, imparting to it in Baptism the new life, nourishing it in the Supper by the Communion of his body and blood.

It comes out very strikingly in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, where almost universally other Protestant Churches teach that the Holy Eucharist is but a picture, or memento of the suffering and dying Savior, and that the ordinance contains nothing peculiar, nothing mysterious.

Lutherans believe that in the Holy Supper there are present with the elements and received, sacramentally and supernaturally, the body and the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, in accordance with his institution, and



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the words of the Apostle: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?" Believers receive this to the strengthening of their faith, unbelievers to their judgment.

The enemies of the Lutheran Church have sought to fasten on her the reproach of consubstantiation, although not a single Lutheran teacher has ever advocated it, and the Church's defenders have with one mind and voice continually denied it.

The doctrine of Roman Catholicism is that by the consecration of the priest, the bread and wine are changed into the body and blood of Christ. Nothing remains of the elements. This is transubstantiation.

Consubstantiation modifies this change to the extent of the difference between "trans" and "con," so that the bread and wine instead of wholly disappearing, intermingle with the body and blood of the Savior, forming one substance. The Lutheran doctrine most clearly and strenuously denies that any change occurs. The bread remains bread, the wine remains wine, but in the reception of these elements, there is a partaking of the Lord Jesus Christ, a communion of His body and His blood.

The most striking example of the dwarfing and narrowing process of other theologies, is that which pertains to the Person of Christ. The Lutheran Church embraces Christ as the God-man, begotten of the Father from all eternity and born of the Virgin Mary, the two natures inseparably and forever united in one person, the divine and the human attributes sharing in every act and work so that "every act of

the Son of God is also an act of the Son of Man and every word of the Son of Man is also a word of the Son of God."

Others present a Christ divided, a Christ divested of one or the other of his natures. When he is born, he is but a human child. When he dies upon the cross atoning for the sins of the world, he suffers only as a man, the descent into Hell is only that of a human soul. When he gives himself in the mystery of the Holy Supper, when he is present "where two or three are gathered in his name" he is only divine, his human nature which unites him to us and in him unites humanity to God, being confined to heaven. Lutherans always comprehend both natures in the one, forever indissoluble, Person.

And this undivided and indivisible Christ, the God-man, is the heart of the whole plan of salvation. Other systems begin with the Bible, with the decrees of God, with the Church. Lutheranism begins with Christ. Its theology rests on this immovable center.

It is not unusual to designate justification by faith as the central doctrine of the Lutheran Church, but this is simply the reverse of the same truth. Jesus Christ is the sole objective ground of redemption. Faith is the subjective appropriation of redemption. Christ is the fixed sun from which light and life stream to the world. Faith is the opening of the eye and of the heart to receive the light and the life. Justification is realized by faith resting on the merits of Christ.

Around this shining center everything revolves. And thus Lutheran theology and Church life honor and exalt and magnify Jesus Christ beyond any other

system. Romanism obscures him behind the Virgin. Calvinism makes him an agent in the saving of the elect. Anglicanism has sought to confine his grace to narrow channels. Methodism often dims his crown by its conjunction of experiences and works with grace. Lutheranism makes him all in all.

In harmony with its distinguishing doctrines the Lutheran Church has also its characteristic worship. The church of the people, its worship is not that of the priests, or of the preacher, it is the people's worship, and they are therefore provided with forms to kindle, to exercise and to sustain the spirit of worship. The Reformers proceeded with the liturgy just as they did with the teaching of the Church. They purged out corruption and error from the forms of public devotion, restored them to a scriptural standard and put them into the vernacular tongue. Every Lutheran country and city adopted its liturgy during the sixteenth century, and all these agenda had with immaterial differences the same service, except in South Germany, where the influence of Carlstadt made itself felt in the cultus.

A Lutheran Church without a liturgy was unknown before Rationalism became enthroned in Germany. Then, as the vital truths of Christianity were abandoned by the pulpit, they were also removed from the people's hymn-book and cast out from their forms of worship, and the liturgies, in many cases, cast out altogether.

Many of the English congregations in this country, influenced doubtless by the dominant churches around them, dispensed for some time with prescribed forms, yet it is significant of the spirit of the Church that

the first measure at the first convention of the first Synod was the adoption of a liturgy "with a view of introducing into our congregations the same ceremonies, forms and words."

At an early period of its history the General Synod made provision for an English Liturgy. To provide a satisfactory English Service for the Lutheran Church proved, however, under the peculiar circumstances, no easy task, and for half a century successive committees wrestled with the necessary but difficult undertaking.

In 1883 the three General Bodies representing the English-speaking Lutherans entered into an agreement to prepare a common service on the basis of "the common consent of the pure Lutheran Liturgies of the sixteenth century," and assigned this work to a joint-committee whose unanimous report was adopted by the three Bodies without a dissenting voice. The General Synod, commonly regarded as but moderately liturgical, heartily and solemnly gave its unanimous approval to this undertaking at three consecutive sessions, at Springfield instructing the Committee to follow "the well-defined basis of the pure Lutheran Liturgies of the sixteenth century," at Harrisburg accepting the unanimous conclusion of the Committee when it presented "the order of Service of the Lutheran Church," and at Omaha ordering it to be published "in all future editions of the Book of Worship and the Book of Worship with tunes."

A feature that has never been wanting to the Lutheran Church is the observance of the great festivals of the Christian Year, Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension and Whitsunday. Though maintained

also by a few others, they are peculiarly precious to the Lutheran Church, since in consonance with her system of doctrine they exalt Christ. They magnify his incarnation, his atoning death, his triumphant resurrection, his glorious return to the Father, his outpouring of the Holy Ghost. These events are the immovable foundations of Christianity.

Doctrine and worship exert a potent influence upon thought and character, and peculiar types of doctrine and worship will have their counterparts in types of piety, and peculiarities of spiritual life. The characteristics of the fruit are the outcome of the root.

With the cardinal position of justification by faith in the Lutheran system, there is absolute freedom from the shackles of the law. It was the work of the Lutherans to restore and enthrone Pauline theology, and under its sway believers come to realize their unqualified freedom from every yoke and burden. Knowing by the Scriptures that they are "the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus," they behold in God not a despot but a dear Father. We are under grace, not under the law, children, not servants, obeying from the heart and not by constraint of external precepts. The obedience of a child is nobler than that of a servant. A spontaneous service is infinitely better than an enforced one. The law within the heart working outwardly, impelling to cheerful, holy obedience, develops a Christian character which can never be reached by any law of outward observances. And it is a surer safeguard against both antinomianism and spiritual sloth. Having peace with God through faith and having the indwelling Spirit, the innermost promptings of

the heart will ever move men to ask "what can we render unto the Lord for all his benefits to us."

A childlike faith, spiritual freedom, a calm, cheerful, sunny frame, such as Wesley beheld in the storm-tossed Salzburger, are wont to mark those who have been reared on the Lutheran faith and have grown up in its healthful atmosphere. They strive after holiness in temper and life "not for the sake of winning Heaven, or escaping Hell," but from love to him who first loved us. Their chief concern is to have continual fellowship with God, the strength of their heart and their portion forever.

The Lutheran Church is of course, like the other historic communions, somewhat affected by environment. She has not always had a free, normal, untrammelled development. The oak does not attain the same grandeur and symmetry in every climate or in every variety of soil. So the Lutheran body, "the purest and sublimest of churches," has sometimes been dwarfed and warped, hindered in her noble progress, deprived of her true glory. Yet none who know this majestic tree of life, whose leaves have been the healing of untold millions, will deny that under favorable circumstances its character and fruits are what they are here represented.

CHAPTER XIX.

PRESENT STRENGTH OF THE EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE.

THE numerical strength of the Lutheran Church in this country reaches, according to the latest statistics attainable (1889), a total of 4,514 ministers, 7,804 congregations, 1,099,708 communicants

Of these there are embraced in the

	Ministers.	Congregations.	Communicants.
Synodical Conference, . . .	1,221	1,810	362,000
General Council, . . .	895	1,576	270,076
General Synod, . . .	997	1,364	153,064
United Synod, . . .	186	392	33,625
Independent Synods, . . .	1,132	2,562	263,943
Disconnected with Synods, . .	83	100	17,000

No proper conception can be had of the strength which these numbers indicate except by comparison. Measured by the past they reveal the mighty hand of God in the planting and progress of the Church in America. The vast increase is of God. By his grace feeble beginnings have developed into a powerful communion.

Not many years ago the Lutheran Church was classified "among the smaller Presbyterian bodies." She was virtually unknown and unrecognized, scarcely mentioned in statistical tables. Since then she has overtaken one after the other of the tribes until she is acknowledged among the largest and most influential denominations of the land.

An approximate estimate of the Church's numbers for the last century gives the following:

Year.	Ministers.	Congregations.	Communicants.
1780,	70	300	
1814,	85	380	40,000
1823,	175	600	45,000
1833,	300	680	57,000
1845,	520	1,030	145,000
1853,	850	1,750	200,000
1863,	1,431	2,677	285,217
1868,	1,748	3,111	351,860
1873,	2,309	4,115	485,080
1878,	2,910	5,136	650,529
1883,	3,429	6,130	785,987
1885,	3,720	7,037	893,202

Her comparative rank among the evangelical Churches of this country appears according to the latest statistics :

The Methodists	Number	.	.	.	.	.	.	4,747,130
The Baptists	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	3,974,589
The Presbyterians	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,259,234
The Lutherans	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,099,708
The Congregationalists	Number	.	.	.	.	.	.	475,608
The Episcopalians	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	459,642
The Reformed	"	.	.	.	.	.	.	277,632

Figures yield, however, an unsatisfactory and inadequate exhibit of a church's strength. Numbers are no proper expression of moral forces. Mathematics do not apply to what is spiritual. In that sphere one and one may be more than two and two. Statistics may include clergy, communicants and congregations that weaken rather than strengthen a church. They may be minus quantities. One earnest soul may count

for more than multitudes who have the form but not the power of godliness.

A Lutheran congregation may be equal to a Methodist one, or to a Presbyterian, or to an Episcopalian. It may also, though numerically and externally weaker, represent more than either or many of these. Primarily the question is how much Christian truth does it represent? For what compass of the Gospel does it stand? What is the degree of its spiritual endowment? To what extent is it the body of Christ?

Surely in this the strength of the Lutheran Church is nowhere surpassed, is equalled by none. She holds and preaches the truth as it is in Jesus with a fullness and emphasis heard nowhere else. Salvation by faith alone, Christ the center of all her teaching, Christ exalted in her pulpit, her festivals and her liturgies, herein lies the essential strength of the Lutheran Church. "If the Lutheran Church does not compass the truth and salvation of God, they are not to be found on earth." And, what is of preëminent value, her faith is clearly defined and fully set forth in her Symbols, which are becoming more and more the study of her ministers, and adhered to with a firmness that has no parallel in any other Church.

A transcendent feature of her strength is the instruction of the young. She is the only Protestant communion that has retained the Catechism as an indispensable feature of religious training, as she is also the only one that to any extent retains in her hands general education. In Sunday-school work the English congregations are surpassed by none, and in many localities their superior efficiency is unchallenged.

With four thousand pastors annually catechising the young, with some 300,000 children taught in parish schools, with more than half a million reared in well-conducted Sunday-schools, the Lutheran Church has an incalculable element of power that wins admiration from all who are acquainted with her.

Faithfully nurturing and guarding her own, she shows, besides, an aggressiveness, a missionary zeal and a general prevalence and growth of liberality, that indicate an immeasurable capacity for extension, while her ministry, along with their fidelity in preaching ob-



GASTON COLLEGE, DALLAS, N. C.

jective truth, have no superiors in learning, in self-sacrifice and consecration.

Features like these rather than statistical tables show the essential and effective strength of a church. Not the muster roll of an army, but its fighting capacity, its *morale*, and above all, the justice of its cause, represent its real power.

An approximate measurement of the strength of the Lutheran Church may also be obtained from the following exhibit of her principal educational institu-

tions, the most powerful human agencies for promoting her efficiency and growth:

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARIES.

Name.	Opened.	Location.	Profs.	Studs.
Hartwick, ...	1816,	Hartwick Sem.,	3	15
Seminary of General Synod, ...	1826,	Gettysburg, Pa.,	5	55
Theolog. Dept. of Capital University, ...	1830,	Columbus, Ohio,	3	30
Southern, ...	1830,	Newberry, S. C.,	2	4
Theolog. Dept. of Wittenberg Col., ...	1845,	Springfield, O.,	3	18
Concordia, ...	1846,	St. Louis, Mo.,	5	140
Wartburg, ...	1854,	Dubuque, Ia.,	3	64
Theolog. Dept., Miss'ry Institute, ...	1858,	Selins Grove, Pa.,	2	13
Philadelphia, ...	1864,	Philadelphia, Pa.,	4	70
Swedish Augustana, ...	1864,	Rock Island, Ill.,	3	48
Augsburg Augustana, ...	1869,	Minneapolis, Minn.,	3	34
Practical Concordia, ...	1873,	Springfield, Ill.,	3	209
Norwegian-Danish Augustana, ...	1874,	Beloit, Iowa,	2	9
Wisconsin Synod's, ...	1878,	Milwaukee, Wis.,	3	33
Hauge's Red Wing, ...	1879,	Red Wing, Minn.,	2	36
German of General Synod, ...	1881,	Chicago, Ill.,	3	19
Minnesota Synod's, ...	1884,	New Ulm, Minn.,	2	12
Michigan Synod's, ...	1885,	Saginaw, Mich.,	3	18
Norwegian, ...	1886,	Northfield, Minn.,	2	23
Two Danish, ...			4	21

Three Norwegian Seminaries are about to consolidate at Minneapolis and will open with five professors.

COLLEGES.

Name.	Founded.	Locality.	Profs.	Studs.
Pennsylvania College, ...	1832,	Gettysburg, Pa.,	14	205
Wittenberg College, ...	1845,	Springfield, O.,	18	250
Concordia College, ...	1849,	Fort Wayne, Ind.,	7	218
Capital University, ...	1850,	Columbus, O.,	8	148
Roanoke College, ...	1853,	Salem, Va.,	11	140
Newberry College, ...	1853,	Newberry, S. C.,	8	67
North Carolina College, ...	1858,	Mt. Pleasant, N. C.,	5	57

Name.	Founded.	Location.	Profs.	Studs.
Augustana College, . . .	1860,	Rock Island, Ill.,	20	286
Luther College, . . .	1861,	Decorah, Ia.,	9	131
Northwestern University, . .	1865,	Watertown, Wis.,	7	161
Muhlenberg College, . . .	1867,	Allentown, Pa.,	11	151
Wartburg College, . . .	1868,	Waverly, Ia.	6	65
Augsburg College, . . .	1869,	Minneapolis, Minn.,	5	90
Carthage College, . . .	1870,	Carthage, Ill.,	4	136
Thiel College, . . .	1870,	Greenville, Pa.,	10	111
Gustavus Adolph. College, . .	1876,	St. Peter, Minn.,	19	272
Bethany Col. and Nor. Ins., .	1881,	Lindsborg, Kan.,	13	251
Concordia College, . . .	1882,	Conover, N. C.,	7	162
Wagner Memorial College, . .	1885,	Rochester, N. Y.,	5	51
Midland College, . . .	1887,	Atchinson, Kan.,	5	70

Hartwick Seminary with 7 Professors and 95 students and the Missionary Institute with 8 Professors and 90 students, at Selins Grove, Penn., are institutions of a higher grade, preparing men for advanced college classes.

There are numerous flourishing Female Seminaries which, by the higher education of women, contribute an incalculable momentum to the advance and influence of the Church.

To the educational institutions are yet to be added the flourishing Publishing Houses, which issue a great mass of literature in some half dozen languages. The total number of periodicals is at least 131. Of these 42 are English, 53 German, 24 Norwegian or Danish, 9 Swedish, 2 Icelandic, and 1 Finnish.

In connection with the exhibit of the strength of the Lutheran Church in this country, her numbers in Europe are presented below. The facts that she possesses more territory than any other two of the great Protestant families, and embraces a population almost as large as all other Evangelical bodies com-

bined, make a moral addition to her strength here that is of great significance.

In this country the statistics represent only actual communicants. In Europe they indicate generally the aggregate population comprised within the Lutheran State Churches.

THE LUTHERANS NUMBER AS FOLLOWS:

Denmark, Norway and Sweden, ...	8,508,000
German Empire, omitting the Reformed in the Prussian Union, ...	24,483,000
Austro-Hungary, ...	1,550,000
Russia, ...	5,060,000
France, England, Holland, &c., ...	225,000
Add those in Africa, Asia and Australia, ...	298,000
“ “ America, including Brazil, West Indies, and Greenland	1,152,000
Total in the world, ...	<u>41,276,000</u>

These are comprised in 36,000 congregations, and ministered to by more than 25,000 clergy.

CHAPTER XX.

THE FUTURE OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

IT has been no easy task to sketch the past and present of the Lutheran Church in America. It seems presumptuous to attempt the delineation of her future. Yet coming events cast their shadows before. The humblest sower forms an idea of what the harvest will be. Growth depends indeed largely on conditions, yet the sapling is the promise of a mighty oak.

The church is a tree of life, and it is the nature of spiritual as of physical life to grow, to develop in strength and dimensions. With the quick and quickening Word coursing through her veins, the inherent vitality of the Lutheran Church, tested and strengthened as it has been by storms of adversity, is itself the pledge of boundless increase.

The conspicuous interpositions of Providence for her preservation and progress in this western world, vouch furthermore for the future favor of the Most High. It was God that brought her across the deep, that laid her foundations in this land, that protected her in crises of supreme peril. The waters have roared around her until the mountains shook with the swelling thereof, but God has been at once her refuge and her strength, her "feste Burg," so that in the face of overwhelming odds she has advanced to marvellous prosperity. Review the ordeals through which the

Church was called to pass for many years, the poverty and the wrongs of her early colonists, the ravages of protracted wars, the paralysis of rationalism, the dispersion and disorganization of her material, the havoc of proselyting sects, and more trying than all, the strain put upon her by the language conflict, and then on that dark background, strive to behold her present extent and power, and the heathen, even, must cry out "the Lord hath done great things for them;" to which we exultantly respond "the Lord hath done great things for us; whereof we are glad."

It is a miracle that the Lutheran Church is not extinct in America. What shall be said of her triumphant progress in the face of successive and overwhelming adversities! She has not only maintained her existence but she has come forth from her adversities purer, stronger, more united and more active, her roots growing deeper, her trunk mightier as the storms have swayed her to and fro. No other church has labored under the difficulties, disadvantages and struggles to which the Lutheran has been subjected, and yet no other has in the last forty years shown such a ratio of progress. In some large districts she has gained more within a quarter of a century than all the other evangelical churches combined.

For a long time her growth had been slow, much impeded and often intermitted, but slowness, too, is a virtue in some cases, and great things in nature, history or grace are never sudden. When at last it became rapid, the sure warrant of its reality and soundness was the fact of its manifestation in every sphere. There has been vast progress not only in

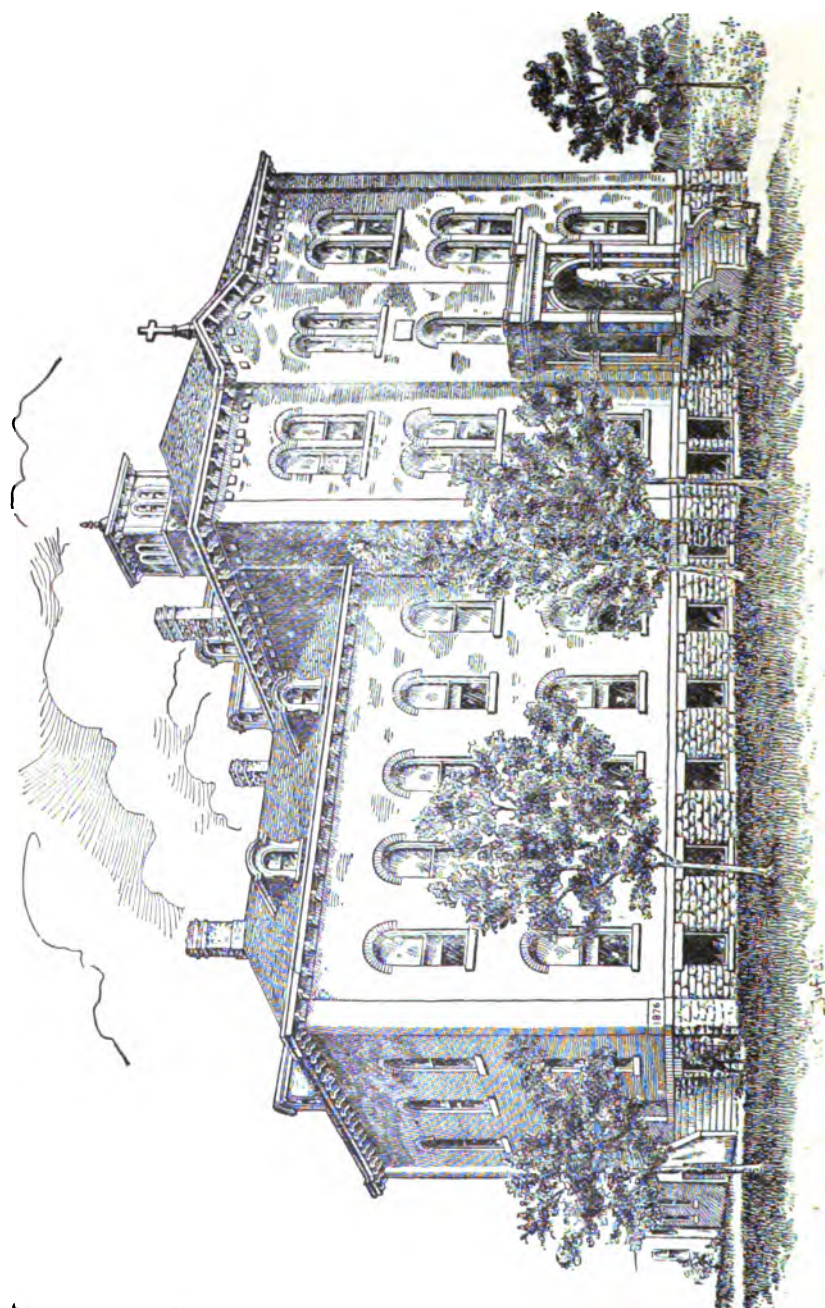
numbers, but in Confessional fidelity, in Churchly practice, in Church love, in conviction and enthusiasm, in efficient organization, in education, in missionary activity, in benevolence. The advance in every respect is so marvellous that many can hardly believe it. Think of the Lutherans fifty years ago: "Possessed of a language mostly foreign, widely scattered over an immense territory, destitute of facilities for education in the spirit and learning of our Church, poorly supplied with the regular ministrations of the Word and Sacraments, often distracted with strifes about what language they were to worship in, without a literature worthy of the name,—lacking in efficient organization, assailed on all sides by the ignorant or wilful misrepresentations of the denominations around them, and made the prey of proselyting sects."

Then there was no missionary fund and not a single "missionary preacher in all the land wholly given up to the work." Now the number of those wholly or in part doing missionary work is not less than one thousand, and the amounts annually expended on this cause reach hundreds of thousands, while the liberality of the people towards the cause of missions and education, has been steadily improving until gifts of \$5,000 to \$25,000 are not unusual, and legacies of \$50,000 to \$100,000 are reported. Then there was one English and probably a German periodical, each with a few hundred subscribers. Now there are altogether over one hundred and thirty Church journals bearing light to one million of readers. Humble beginnings of theological education had been started in a few centers. Now not less than 20 semi-

naries, with 69 professors and 700 students seek to meet the growing wants of the Church. Then there was a single college, feeble and struggling, now there are twenty, some in equipment and attendance ranking with the better colleges of the country, with millions of dollars invested in property, libraries and endowment, and thousands of young men receiving a liberal education, a large proportion of them, about 1,500 preparing for the ministry.

With the exception of the writings of Dr. S. S. Schmucker, there was a generation ago hardly any literature in the English tongue setting forth the history, character and claims of the Lutheran Church; to-day, though much is yet to be desired, there is a number of solid volumes that offer a fair exhibit of her distinguishing excellences.

The time was, and not so very long ago, when others did not know the Lutheran Church, when in fact she hardly knew herself, when she seemed afraid of her true self, when her children had no appreciation of their patrimonial possessions, when her champions were always on the defensive and some were fain to apologize for their ecclesiastical connection. At present the Lutheran people exult in their birthright. They have become alive to the peculiar glory of their Church, conscious of her strength and relative position, and cognisant of her incomparable opportunities. Ignorance of the Lutheran Church no longer airs itself, but blushes at its exposure. Where once the tide bore ministers and people away from Lutheran altars, it is now bringing in not a few from other altars. While formerly Lutherans quoted the practices of



EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN ST. JOHN'S ORPHAN HOME, (FOR BOYS), SULPHUR SPRINGS, NEAR BUFFALO, N. Y.

others as presumptively correct, it is not uncommon now to see Lutheran usage pointed to as a valid endorsement of what is desired. The immense significance of all this is beyond description. It forms an inestimable element of hope in the future of Lutheranism, and this hope itself is a force of measureless possibilities. Once all was discouragement. Now a prospect opens to the Lutheran Church such as no other communion commands.

If then notwithstanding trials and struggles unknown to other churches, the Lutheran Church has steadily progressed, doubling her numbers on an average every thirteen years, if with the most limited outward resources and equipments, she has startled the public mind by the prosperity and power she has attained, what may she not be expected to accomplish with the vantage ground she now holds, a situation full of inspiration and of hope.

Struggles and trials will doubtless still oppose her progress. Problems remain to be solved, glaring weaknesses and disadvantages are yet to be overcome, but she has no longer to contend with many of the most formidable obstacles that once blocked her path. And her discouragements are insignificant compared with those of some other bodies.

One vital problem pressing upon the Church is her adjustment to the demands of our country and age. Another is the fuller occupation of the large cities with English congregations. Happily she is conscious of her need and duty in these things, and favorable changes are here also apparent. The total of Lutheran Churches in many of the principal cities is

encouraging. New York has 20, Philadelphia 34, Baltimore 18, Washington 11, Pittsburg 18, Omaha 10, Portland 8, San Francisco 8. An increasing proportion of these is English. Sixteen years ago Baltimore had 4 English Churches. Now it has 12. The English membership was then 995, now it is nearly 4,500.

Whatever circumstances may work to the future detriment of the Church, it is very manifest that in many respects she possesses extraordinary advantages.

First.—Of all churches she holds the purest, clearest, most definite and most complete system of scriptural doctrine. She is firmly grounded on her Symbols, and these stand immovable amid the upheaval and tumult that are shaking some other creeds. While some are seeking in desperation to adjust their faith to modern thought or scientific discovery, the Lutherans know of nothing in their creed that has become unsettled, nothing that has to be given up. Not the faintest voice is heard for a revision of her standards. "Her confessional position and consequent church life," says Dr. Valentine, "represent the best and truest outflow of genuine Christianity." From a church that holds the truth in love and loyalty the Holy Ghost will never depart.

Second.—One of the brightest signs of her future is her custom of inculcating this faith in her children. It is not an idle boast that by her catechisation she gives them an education that is without parallel. And who can tell the full import of such indoctrination in this skeptical age? With religious instruction banished

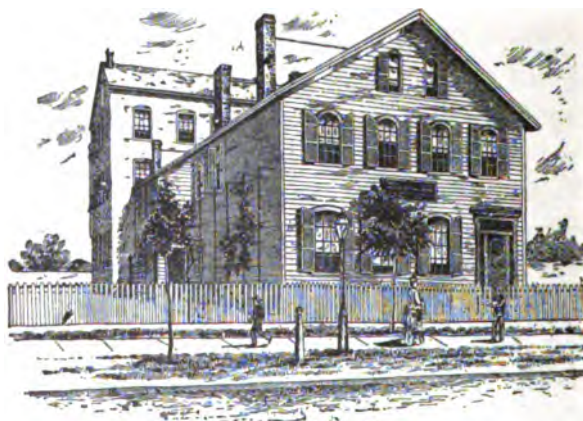
from our public schools, with infidelity wantonly tainting our literature, with a godless press read at every fireside, with unsanctified science aiming its shafts at the most holy truths, with rampant sensualism and worldliness, it may well be feared whether the multitude can be held to Christianity unless they have been rooted in it and grounded in it in childhood.

Third.—As she is the church of the children, so she is the church of the people. It is no discredit to her that she does not attract the devotees of fashion, or that she fails to satisfy some who prefer social standing to spiritual improvement, but wherever a Lutheran congregation has become properly established, her teachings and her usages are wont to commend themselves to the thoughtful.

Fourth.—Her present numerical strength is a pledge of a great future. Her communicants number 1,100,000 souls. The children in her homes number no less. Including these more than 2,000,000 of a baptized membership, it is estimated that there are to-day in the United States 7,000,000 people who properly belong to the Lutheran household of faith, who look to the Lutheran Church for whatever spiritual ministrations they receive. And this grand total is steadily increasing from the native population and through the multitudes that come hither annually from the Lutheran lands across the sea. Nor is it without meaning for the future that although the Lutherans have failed to occupy fully some of the great centers in the East, they have spread themselves everywhere over the great West. Nearly all of the Scandinavians have settled west of Lake Michigan, and two-thirds

of the Germans west of Buffalo. In a number of western states the Lutheran population preponderates. The uniform story, persistently repeated by the representatives of other bodies, is that the vastness of the Lutheran field is beyond all comparison, that multitudes are waiting to be gathered by her shepherds.

Fifth.—Another great element of future strength is the conservative character of this immense Lutheran



E. V. L. ST. JOHN'S ORPHAN HOME (FOR GIRLS), BUFFALO, N. Y..

population. Whether it comes from foreign shores or is born in this land, the solidity and sterling virtues of this stock are unsurpassed. Its industry and thrift, its peaceableness and intelligence, make it the choice and the enduring element of the nation. Underlying these virtues are the sturdy health and physical stamina which characterize these people and make them prolific beyond all others. They form a race whose physical and spiritual attributes are the pledges of large families. To it belongs the future of this country

and from it by God's grace the Church of the Reformation will have its future growth as it has had its past.

Sixth.—Another striking advantage of the Lutheran Church is her polyglot character. She can teach and preach in every tongue spoken in this country by Protestants, and in her numerous seminaries she is educating preachers to minister to the English, the German, the Swede, the Norwegian, whatever may be the language of any wanderer to her altars.

Seventh.—Not the least of her advantages is her prestige, her name, her glorious history. It is something to be a Lutheran, to belong to a church whose roots penetrate the soil of four centuries and may readily be traced to the Apostolic age. A church that is not the product of a day, or of a generation or two, has the promise of a future such as is not assured to the religious mushroom growths of our age.

To these infallible signs of the rapid extension and glorious future of the Lutheran Church might be added that manifest trend of the Evangelical Churches toward some of the most prominent features of Lutheranism. Notice the demand of the day for a Christo-centric theology, which is the soul of the Lutheran system; the higher view of the Sacraments which many are seeking after, and which has been a conspicuous mark of Lutheranism; the growing popularity of the Church Festivals, notwithstanding the amazing course of the International Committee in keeping them out of the Sunday Schools; the general "groping in the dark for a better service," for something "to render the service of worship more vigorous and impressive," feeling after such helps as have al-

ways been embraced in the Lutheran Liturgies. Are not these strivings the unmistakable symptoms of a powerful yearning in the minds of others for those treasures which the Lutherans have always possessed?

Any disinterested and devout observer must recognize in these phenomena the hand of Divine Providence. And surely her own children, who survey the past of the Lutheran Church in this country and behold her present growth, who have faith in the Gospel and know to what extent their Church is its embodiment, must share the conviction, neither forced nor faltering, that in the days to come, her doctrines will be sown over every foot of the soil of this great country as sure as the sun rises.

"Gottes Wort und Luthers Lehr
Vergehet nun und nimmermehr."

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